

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

State Temperance Convention,

HELD IN

HARRISBURG, PENNA.,

FEBRUARY 8th and 9th, 1870:

AND OF THE

STATE TEMPERANCE UNION,

HELD

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9TH, 1870.

LANCASTER, PA.:

WYLIE & GRIEST, INQUIRER PRINTING HOUSE AND BINDERY.

1870.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from

This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE TEMPERANCE CONVENTION

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION.

HARRISBURG, Tuesday, February 8th, 1870.

On Tuesday morning, February 8th, 1870, a State Convention of the Friends of Temperance in Pennsylvania assembled in the Court House at Harrisburg.

One hour, from ten to eleven o'clock was devoted to prayer for the success of the cause and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in the deliberations of the Convention, Rev. C. I. Thompson, of the Locust Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Harrisburg, presiding.

At eleven o'clock, A. M., James Black, Esq., of Lancaster, Chairman of the Temperance State Central Committee, and President of the State Temperance Union, called the Convention to order.

CALL OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. BLACK said:

Friends of Temperance, Ladies and Gentlemen—The hour named in the call that has brought us together has arrived, and in accordance with the usual custom, as Chairman of the Temperance State Central Committee, request that this assemblage come to order and proceed to business.

I trust that I may be indulged in a few general remarks in reference to the progress of the Temperance cause during the last year in this and other countries, to indicate, if possible, the magnitude of the question involved, and the interest manifested by the people of this and other Commonwealths of the United States and other nations of the world, in the work so dear to our hearts, fraught, as it is, with such large returns of virtue and happiness to our homes, and security to our families. I am glad to assure our friends that during the past year the cause of Temperance has made considerable progress; that it at the present moment

occupies higher and nobler ground than at any other time ; during the past year possibly more religious feeling on this subject has prevailed than at any former period. Religious convocations of almost all denominations have taken a more decided stand, have spoken more emphatically than ever before, and I may indeed truly assert that the Church has put forth greater effort in the cause of total abstinence, and its corollary, legal prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors than in former years. In our Commonwealth there is an enlarging interest in favor of the suppression of the traffic manifested, not only by religious assemblages, speaking for the moral and religious sentiment of the people, but by the effort on part of numerous districts to secure local laws for "prohibition"—by struggles in the Courts to prevent grants of license—by district and county conventions—by numerous meetings protesting against the system of license ; but also by the petitions that are flowing in by hundreds to the Legislature, asking for a local option law by which the judgment of the public may authoritatively be pronounced on the continuance of the traffic. We should thus be greatly encouraged to continue the labor of enlightenment of the public mind, by fact and argument drawn from Scripture, science, and experience, as to the hurtful character of all alcoholic drinks, and the wrong of sustaining the traffic in them by the laws of this Christian Commonwealth.

Although it may happen, in the wise purposes of Providence, that the measures we propose and are active in carrying out, may not be immediately fruitful, still we may take heart and be assured that it is merely a question of time as to when the traffic in strong drink shall cease to be a blot upon the statute books of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

You are also aware of the efforts made to secure the same end in other States, while in still others they are passing through the severe ordeal, the crucible of fire, in the maintenance of prohibitory laws already secured. The newspaper press is not entirely dead to this most vital issue. Our cause, I am happy to say, has received the endorsement of increasing numbers of free and independent papers throughout the country, and, which is a healthy sign, has excited the direct opposition of others.

The agitation for prohibition is by no means confined to the United States and the Dominion of Canada, but the people of European countries are beginning to see the harvest of evils they are reaping from their liquor laws, and to understand that such laws can claim no rightful place with any people who recognize God's moral laws as paramount.

In England under the direction of the United Kingdom Alliance, or as the late Lord Brougham termed it, "the Grand Alliance," the movement has assumed an importance that now challenges and receives the attention and respect of the ruling classes for its measure known as the "Permissive Bill," for the adoption of which, for thirteen years, it has been educating the people. The agitation now prevailing on this

question throughout Great Britain furnishes the greatest encouragement to us to labor perseveringly and unfalteringly for the cleansing of our statute books from the taint of all support or warrant for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating beverages.

During the year just passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, the vote in favor of "The Permissive Bill," by which the rate payers will be clothed with the power, by vote, to close up the liquor selling establishments, has demonstrated a political strength, the reflex of moral conviction most gratifying to its friends, and far beyond any former period in the agitation of this question. "The Times," an opponent, and the representative of the ruling classes, concedes that the enactment of this "Bill" is now "only a question of time."

The discussion of the license question, and the vote in Parliament, has constrained the Ministry to publicly promise to bring in a bill at the present session that would be satisfactory and reformatory of the present laws. A law passed during the last session has already closed large numbers of beer shops throughout the country. The agitation for the suppression of the traffic has assumed such force as to interrogate candidates at the Hustings, and in frequent instances to make the success of candidates for seats in Parliament turn upon their adhesion or opposition to this question.

I may be permitted also to call attention to the report of the Committee on Intemperance of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury, England, as possibly being from the high source from which it emanated and the vast labor and care with which its materials were collected and collated, the most valuable temperance document published in the history of the reform.

The Province of Canterbury embraces 32 counties of England, besides Wales, north and south, containing 21 Dioceses and over 14,000,000 of population. The testimony collected from Judges on the bench, Attorneys of the Crown, Keepers of Poor Houses, Asylums, Prisons, Chaplains of Prisons and Reformatory Institutions, Coroners, Recorders, Public records, &c., &c., has spread before the people of England and the world on the corrupting power of drink—a mass of facts that cannot fail to have great weight in convincing of the unrighteousness of the system which "frameth mischief by a law." So earnest and continuous is the effort, by public discussion and the press, to educate, and so rapid is the development of ripening sentiment, that we in America are enjoined to greater activity lest our friends in England shall secure the victory in this great contest before we do. [Applause.]

In Turkey the sale of liquor is placed under stringent regulations—the preliminary step to suppression. The Sultan is a consistent total abstainer, as is the larger portion of the Musselman population.

In Russia a stringent license law has been enacted, and the vodka

(corn brandy), the curse of Russia, is placed under restraint. In St. Petersburg no "tavern" is allowed in any of the main thoroughfares, and they are called National Banks from their absorbing the earnings of those who frequent them. It is said this expression has fallen from the lips of the Emperor: "Would to God there might be the same temperance sentiment in Russia as in the United States." [Applause.]

In Sweden and Norway farm distillation has been prohibited, and licenses in large towns reduced one-half to two-thirds, while in the post villages and stations selling spirits has been prohibited. The effect has been a reformation of the national habits of the most gratifying character, and as is uniformly the case where the rum fiend is chained, the peasantry have become "patterns" of sobriety," and crimes of every kind have decreased immensely. In Germany and France public attention is being called by scientific investigation and publication of facts to the evils of the drink customs. In Australia and British India a most excellent work is being done by earnest friends of temperance.

We meet here, ladies and gentlemen, under the call which I shall have the pleasure of reading to you. It is evident that we have met together with hearts deep and earnest in the hope that some measure may be presented that will accomplish good, and I pray that God will give us one mind. Let us not reject any proposition simply because it is new, nor accept it because it is new. Let it be received with the signet of our approval if it is right, and rejected with the seal of our disapproval if it is wrong. [Applause.]

THE CALL.

Upon the suggestion and after consultation with a number of friends, and by virtue of the authority conferred by the State Convention held at Harrisburg, February, 1869, the undersigned, State Central Committee, do urgently invite the friends of Temperance in Pennsylvania to meet in Convention in the Court House in Harrisburg, on Tuesday, the 8th day of February, 1870, at 11 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of reviewing the past, considering the present, and consulting upon the best method for discharging in the future our duties in the moral, social, economic, and political relations of the cause of temperance. While called upon to render thanks to our Heavenly Father for the evidences of deepening impressions among the people of the sinfulness of the use of, and the immorality of the traffic in, intoxicating liquors, as a beverage; and to rejoice in the more general and decided action of our churches in favor of the cause; the temperance voters of the State are confronted by the issue made by the dram shop keepers, *to perpetuate their trade by political influence and effort*. Through their organizations, the liquor dealers have repeatedly expressed their determination to "wage war against temperance and Sunday laws;" and an influen-

tial body at their Annual Congress held June 2, 1869, resolved "that we hereby *reiterate and reaffirm, as our standing creed and unchangeable purpose*, that we will continue in the future, as we have in the past, to battle for the promotion of civil and religious liberty, * * * and for that purpose we will support no candidate for any office who is identified with this illiberal and narrow-minded (temperance) element."

That this determination of the Liquor Dealers was acted upon during the late canvass in Pennsylvania, is shown by the following extract from a circular issued from the "Rooms of the State Liberty League, Philadelphia, October 1st, 1869," signed by G. S. Mountjoy, Frederick Lauer, and others, committee, saying, "*Governor Geary must be defeated at every hazard. The prohibitory candidates for the Legislature must share the same fate, no matter to what political organization they may belong. Party considerations sink into insignificance when issues of such immediate importance to all are involved.*"

This extract shows that party fealty is a rope of sand when the interests of the liquor trade are involved.

While sparing no effort to enlighten the public in the great moral truths that are the foundation of the temperance reform, it has therefore become a question whether fidelity to temperance convictions does not now demand a policy and action different from the past and which will more effectually counteract the new movement of our opponents by open, direct appeals to the conscience and judgment of the voters and citizens of the Commonwealth.

We do therefore invite to the consideration of these questions, delegates representing the religious, moral, and temperance views of the people, as follows:

State Temperance organizations to be represented by delegates not exceeding five in number each; County Temperance organizations, by not more than three delegates each; Temperance Societies, Divisions of S. of T., Temples of H. and T., and Lodges of Good Templars, churches, wards of cities and boroughs, and townships, by one delegate each. Credentials will be required from those desiring to take part in the proceedings.

Necessarily a considerable expense attends the call, arrangement for, and publication of proceedings of our Conventions, which has in part heretofore been raised by voluntary contributions from those who have already been subject to the expense of attendance, which method is objectionable, if not unjust. To make suitable provision for these expenses we do request that each delegate shall, with his credential, hand to a person who will be appointed, the sum of \$2.00.

A Public Prayer Meeting will be held in the Court House from 10 to 11 o'clock, A. M., preceding the Convention.

James Black, Lancaster,
E. H. Rauch, Lancaster,
Dr. Sumner Stebbins, Chester,
Rev. Wm. H. Fries, Delaware,
Gen. Louis Wagner, Philad'a,
J. R. Sypher, Philadelphia,
John Shallcross, Philadelphia,
Moses Auge, Montgomery,
Rev Wm. C. Hendricksou, Bucks,
Dr. Wm. Hargreaves, Berks,
Luther S. Kauffman, Schuylkill,
H. A. Woodhouse, Wayne,

Hon. John S. Mann, Potter,
Rev. E. W. Kirby, North'd,
Rev. G. D. Chenoweth, Cumb'd,
Dr. J. P. Thompson, Blair,
Hon. Eli Slifer, Union,
Colin M. Reed, Washington,
Rev. S. L. Slaysman, York,
Col. G. F. M'Farland, Juniata,
Rev. C. I. Thompson, Dauphin,
Thomas Underhill, Lycoming,
Azro Goff, Erie,

State Central Committee.

The Convention will now please come to order. The first business in order is the presentation of nominations for Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill, named Mr. J. R. Sypher, of Philadelphia.

Gen. Robert L. Bodine, of Philadelphia, named Hon. S. B. Chase, of Susquehanna county.

The question being taken by a rising vote, the result was announced as follows: Hon. S. B. Chase, 89 votes; Mr. J. R. Sypher 52 votes.

Hon. S. B. Chase was accordingly declared duly elected Temporary President of the Convention.

Rev. Mr. Thompson moved to make the election unanimous, which was agreed to.

SPEECH OF TEMPORARY PRESIDENT.

Mr. Chase, on taking the chair, said:

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I regret that you should have selected me to preside temporarily over your deliberations, because I am conscious of my own inability; and did I not suppose that there would be the utmost harmony and unity in the discussion of the questions that may be brought before us in the preliminary organization of this Convention, I should not for a moment undertake to respond to your choice. As was very properly said by my brother, who called the Convention to order, and as was indicated by the prayers of the morning hour, the questions that have called us together are exciting a most intense interest all over our commonwealth, and certainly we should need no other demonstration of this truth than the large assemblage that we see here this morning. Men and women are gathered here from all parts of this vast State, and they are not brought here expecting to secure any personal or sordid advantage; but they come here because their hearts are deeply interested in the prosecution of one of the grandest enterprises of humanity—the Temperance reform. Coming here as representatives of various organizations and of Christian churches in our State, all alike laboring for the furtherance of this great enterprise, I trust, brethren, that we will have no other object in view than to advise on such plans of action as shall seem to be best adapted to carry this great work on to a triumphant issue. [Applause.]

It was intimated by my brother, truthfully, that the Temperance reform has advanced with much rapidity within the past few years. I

know that, so far as the leading minds in this reform are concerned, we are occupying higher ground and working by a superior standard. Still my own observation and experience, in the last year and a half, during which I have devoted my whole time and attention to this work, is that there is a remarkable degree of ignorance in our State in reference to these questions among the masses; and it is astonishing how little temperance reading we find, even around the hearthstones of our own friends. Go into our homes and in every one of them you will find political papers, generally representing the sentiment of the political party to which the family may belong; but very seldom will you find a periodical or a book or work devoted especially to the prosecution of this great Temperance reform. And so, while the leading minds of the great temperance movement in our own State occupy truly orthodox positions on this question, yet there needs to be a great deal of missionary work among the masses before we will attain that success to which our brother so eloquently and feelingly alluded in his opening remarks.

I suppose that the leading minds in this Commonwealth agree in this: That the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks is a legitimate matter of legislation. I suppose, too, that all, or nearly all, of our legislators themselves would agree with us that they have the right and that it is in their province to legislate upon this subject. Certainly they admit that right, impliedly, when they place upon our statute books a law regulating the traffic. What is a license law, but a *regulation* of the traffic in intoxicating drinks? They admit, then, I say, the principle that they have a perfect right, an absolute control over this question, when they attempt to legislate at all upon the subject; when they place the sale of liquor in the hands of a few, and do what they call restriction. And certainly there can be no more legitimate subject for legislation. I repeat, wherever a license law is passed, there is the implied fact that the rum fiend cannot be trusted at large; that drinking is demoralizing and depraving; and that the strong arm of the law should be thrown around its sale and its use. And it is equally certain that this question has been from time to time referred to the committee on Vice and Immorality, and it has been constantly a subject of investigation and report by that Committee. Here, then, is an acknowledgment, in the very practice of this reference which has grown up in our legislative body, that the use of intoxicating beverages is the fruitful cause of vice in this Commonwealth. We have a State vast in material resources, and our Legislature devotes a great portion of its time in discussing how we may best develop them, and I suppose that time is wisely spent. But we must not forget, and our legislators ought not to forget, that we have an enemy in our midst not only not in sympathy with, but directly antagonistic and opposed to, any wise development of our resources.

Thus, my friends, we have in this traffic what we might term a mixed

evil—one that, in the first place, preys upon the material resources of the State, and upon its financial resources, and, one that, in the second place, preys upon the *moral life and welfare* of the State. Still more: There is no other evil on the catalogue of evils, which society has reason to fear, that does not mix with this general evil to which I have alluded. Then, if we have a great enemy in our midst that is not only the foe of our material resources, but is also destructive to man as a being, preying, as it does, upon the moral life of the State, I submit if it is not a subject of legitimate legislation, and that we ought to demand at the hands of our legislators absolute prohibition. [Applause.] It is possible that we might be persuaded to wink at this traffic, if it did nothing but destroy our material interests. It is possible, in view of the vastness of our material wealth, that we might continue to live under such a system of waste and extravagance as this is; but we cannot endure the destruction of moral life. No human arithmetic can stand it, and no people can outlive such a terrible drain upon that which is of such vital importance to the existence and welfare of man.

I make these remarks because I suppose we all agree upon this. I have no doubt that we do. I do not apprehend any disagreement upon this point. And in another thing I suppose we would all agree: That in the administration of the government, and in the execution of the laws, whether in township, borough, city, county, or state, we ought to have men fully in sympathy with this great reform, or, at least, fully in accord with the idea of destroying an enemy waging a warfare upon the material and moral interests of the State. We all agree so far. Possibly we might disagree upon the most feasible plan of securing men in sympathy with this movement. This is a practical question—one of influence entirely, and, I apprehend, one of experiment—of pure experiment; and, perhaps, no brother here can claim that he is endowed with wisdom to look into the future and predict what may be the result of this or that plan of securing officers and legislators in sympathy with this reform. Therefore, brethren, in the consideration of this question, and in deciding upon the feasibility of certain plans which may be introduced, we ought to exercise the utmost charity towards each other, because, we may entertain very different opinions, and it is right we should. God has implanted in us this difference of opinion. The world would progress much less rapidly if men did not disagree. We can better advise action, with vital results, when this difference of opinion and variety of plans prevail. Let us, therefore, have full discussion, *pro and con*. Any enterprise is better secured by free discussion. I trust, brothers, that however much may be the difference of opinion, there may be no jealousy, no hardness of feeling, no bitterness introduced in any thing that may be said or done. Our reform is weak enough compared to the strength of the enemy with whom we are con-

tending, for aggression and corruption in this age is very strong. We are weak enough, even when perfectly united, and I beg that nothing may transpire that shall alienate from this great work any of the noble sentiment engaged in this warfare.

My brother, in his opening remarks, alluded to the fact, that the Christian ministry now occupy advanced ground in reference to this reform. It was but a few days ago that I dropped into a church in this city, and the congregation rejoiced in the fact that the Sabbath before they had listened to the first temperance sermon preached in their house. That sermon, my friends, was preached in obedience to a resolution passed by one of the largest and most influential religious bodies in the United States. It is indeed a matter of congratulation to witness such action on the part of the Christian church. Our ministers are now preaching such temperance sermons as awake the people and call their attention to the necessity of reform. I think, too, that it would be entirely proper for this Convention, representing the temperance sentiment in this State, to extend thanks to the Christian ministry of Pennsylvania who have dared to stand up in their pulpits and proclaim the truths of total abstinence to their people, urging upon all their brethren the propriety and even the duty of presenting this great subject to their congregations. [Applause.]

There is another subject with which my mind has been very much occupied for the last three months, and that is as to the best way of reaching the German element in our State, so far as proscribing the use of intoxicating beverages is concerned, and whether it is at all feasible. If so, what is the best method of inculcating, among this class of our population, the virtue of total abstinence? It seems to me that the assembled wisdom of the Temperance movement in this State may have something to say as to the best means of prosecuting so great a work as this; for recollect, that in this element it would seem that not only the interests of the Temperance reform, but also the interests and the welfare of the Christian Sabbath and the Christian church are intimately and seriously concerned; and if we hope to preserve the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, pure and intact, it is time we did something to proscribe the practice of intemperance among the Germans in our land. I apprehend that it is only a want of thought and of education among that class of people that makes the evil so prevalent with them.

I have now occupied more time than I ought to have done. Thanking you for the confidence you have reposed in me, in calling me to preside over your deliberations, you will now proceed to the regular business of the organization of the Convention.

TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

On motion, Messrs. W. Harry Rauch, of Philadelphia, and

Charles Mason, of Bucks county, were selected as the temporary Secretaries of the Convention.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill, moved the appointment of a committee of three on Credentials. Agreed to.

The Chair appointed on said committee, Messrs. Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill; Charles Mason, of Bucks; and I. Newton Pierce, of Philadelphia.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. George E. Wagner, of Philadelphia, moved the appointment of a Committee on Permanent Organization.

Mr. George H. Hicks, of Philadelphia, movsd to amend the motion by adding the words: "To consist of one delegate from each county represented in the Convention."

Mr. Wagner accepted the amendment as part of his motion, which was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

Mr. James Black, of Lancaster, moved the appointment of a Committee on Business, to consist of fifteen members. Agreed to.

Mr. Claghorn moved that the roll be called, which was agreed to, and Mr. Kauffman called the roll as far as completed. [*For Roll see Paper A.*]

The Chair announced the following appointments on the Committee on Permanent Organization:

George E. Wagner, Chairman, Philadelphia; J. B. Hicks, Somerset; G. E. Palen, Wyoming; Samuel Isett, Blair; S. F. Carothers, Beaver; Jacob Heminger, Franklin; W. S. Shœffer, Dauphin; Henry F. Morrow, Delaware; John J. Evans, Cambria; J. T. Moorhead, Indiana; L. M. Beldin, Erie; Andrew F. Fleming, Adams; H. G. Olmstead, Potter; E. W. Kirby, Northumberland; Rev. J. H. Conkle, Allegheny; H. M. Twining, Bucks; M. Brosius, Lancaster; Rev. C. W. Scott, Fayette; Chas. H. Neff, York; S. W. Sterritt, Cumberland; Rev. Isaac Guss, Huntingdon; Andrew Com, Venango; Enoch Passmore, Chester; Rev. S. Curtis, Schuylkill; G. B. Silster, Luzerne; Rev. O. H. Miller, Westmoreland; Layfayette Ross, Montgomery; Gen. Wm. Patton, Bradford; L. A. Tyler, Susquehanna; D. M. Young, Lehigh; Dr. J. H. Bund, Clearfield; D. Kistler, Perry.

On motion the Convention adjourned until 2 P. M.

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

Hon. S. B. Chase, temporary President, called the Convention to order at two o'clock, P. M., Tuesday, February 8th.

Rev. G. B. Rogers, of Susquehanna, lead in prayer.

LIMITATION OF SPEAKERS.

Mr. I. Newton Pierce, of Philadelphia, introduced the following resolution :

Resolved, That each speaker be limited to ten minutes and allowed to speak but once upon the same question, until all the delegates desiring it have had the privileges of the floor. Each speaker's name to be announced from the Chair, with the name of the organization, or body, of which he is a delegate.

Mr. Hicks, of Philadelphia—I move to strike out all after the word "Chair," thus obviating the announcement of organizations.

Prof. C. W. Deans, of Chester moved further to amend by adding to the resolution, after the word "minutes," the words: "except by consent of the Convention."

Mr. Pierce accepted Prof. Dean's amendment as a modification of his resolution.

The amendment of Mr. Hicks was adopted and the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following named gentleman on the Business Committee :

James Black, Chairman, Lancaster ; James P. Thompson, Blair ; E. W. Kirby, Northumberland ; Samuel F. Gwinner, Philadelphia ; Benjamin Rush Bradford, Beaver ; Rev. P. Coombe, Philadelphia ; J. R. Sypher, Philadelphia ; E. H. Rauch, Lancaster ; C. W. Scott, Fayette ; Rev. W. C. Hendrickson, Bucks ; Rev. W. H. Fries, Delaware ; G. B. Rogers, Susquehanna ; Moses Auge, Montgomery ; Jas. H. Webb, Bradford ; Rev. J. H. Conkle, Allegheny.

Mr. J. R. Sypher, of Philadelphia, introduced the following resolution :

Resolved, That the rules of the House of Assembly of the Pennsylvania Legislature be adopted for the government of this Convention, so far as they are applicable thereto.

Agreed to.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE OF 1869 ON THE PROPOSED LOCAL OPTION LAW.

Mr. Black.—I hold in my hand a Report from the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee on Business of last year, to prepare a general law for submission to the Legislature, governing the sale of liquor in this Commonwealth, under the ninth resolution adopted at the Convention of 1869, which reads as follows:

Resolved, That we recommend the passage of a well-digested general law by the present Legislature, submitting the subject of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all kinds of alcoholic preparations, to the voters of each election district in this Commonwealth; and that if a majority of the legal voters of such district shall vote in favor of such prohibition, no license shall be issued by any Court for such district, until such vote shall be reversed at a subsequent election; and this Convention hereby authorizes and instructs its Business Committee to prepare and present to the Legislature the draft of such law, and with power to call this Convention together to consider the result, when, in their judgment, it may be necessary to do so to further the objects in view.

I have the honor to submit the following report :

To the Pennsylvania State Temperance Convention :

The State Temperance Convention, held February 23d and 24th, 1869,

Resolved, That the Business Committee be continued, and they be empowered to appoint such Sub-Committee as they may deem necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the ninth resolution, previously adopted.

The undersigned, appointed such Sub-Committee, respectfully report :

That immediately after the adjournment they entered upon the discharge of the duties assigned them, and prepared a draft of a law, hereto attached, and printed as House bill, No. 1450; and having obtained a conference with a considerable number of members of the Legislature, the desire of the Convention was made known and urged upon their attention, and the prepared bill submitted. The judgment of the Convention was concurred in, and the bill approved by this Conference. Hon. J. F. Chamberlain read the bill in place, March 9th, 1869, and referred it to the Committee on Vice and Immorality, before whom your Committee appeared and furnished such explanations, and such judicial authorities as were then at command, to show the constitutionality of this measure, of which, doubt was expressed at the Conference, in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in *Parker vs. Commonwealth*, 6 Barr, Rep. 507. The Committee on Vice and Immorality promptly reported the bill favorably, but the session proved too far advanced to act upon it before the adjournment of the Legislature.

Your Committee beg leave to return thanks to Hon. Messrs. Chamberlain, Leslie, Webb, Brown, and others of the House (whose names cannot now be recalled), for the cordiality with which they received your Committee, and the earnest desire displayed to advance this measure of the Convention.

The same bill, with slight emendations, was again read in place by Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, January 19th, 1870, referred to committee, and promptly and unanimously reported, and is now on the general calendar as House bill No. 166. [*See Paper B in Appendix.*]

The Committee have thought it advisable to have printed for the information of the members of the House and Senate, during the consideration of this bill, the very lucid and learned opinion of Judges Coulter and Burnside (the minority of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania) in the case of *Parker vs. Commonwealth*; and also a summary in the form of a letter to Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, of the House, of the judicial authorities of this and other States, which are believed by your Committee to overrule the case of *Parker vs. Commonwealth*, and which sustain the views of Judges Coulter and Burnside, and would now, in all probability, be held by our Court as the law on the question of the constitutionality of the law.

It is with pleasure that the committee are able to report that E. H. Rauch, editor of the *Keystone Good Templar*, has prepared and circulated for signature, some five thousand blank petitions, addressed to the Senate and House, praying for the passage of this law. The cordiality with which they have been received, and the large number already presented to the Legislature, indicate the strong desire of the public to rid themselves of the system of licensed sale of intoxicating drinks, and would also seem to have made a favorable impression upon the minds of many members of the Senate and House.

The following resolution is respectfully presented for consideration :

Resolved, That this Convention respectfully, but earnestly, recommend the enactment of bill No. 166, now upon the general calendar of the House of Representatives, entitled "An Act to enable the citizens of Pennsylvania to determine whether or not the general sale of intoxicating liquors shall be permitted," by which one district of the Commonwealth may accept the law and end the general legalized traffic in intoxicating drinks therein.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES BLACK,
GEO. F. MCFARLAND,
P. COOMBE.

There is an addition to this report which I had not time to insert in manuscript. I have here the very learned opinion of Judges Coulter and Burnside, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, on the constitu-

tionality of the act of 7th of April, 1846, submitting the question of the sale of intoxicating liquors to electors of certain counties of the Commonwealth; and a letter to the Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, in which the opinion of the (majority) Court in *Parker vs. Commonwealth* is reviewed, and dissented from in decisions of the Supreme Courts of New York, Illinois, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and other States. An investigation of these authorities, and other cases since *Parker vs. the Commonwealth*, shows that the weight of Constitutional authority is on the side of the Constitutionality of laws depending upon the vote of districts in which they are to operate. I would like our friends to lay this information, thus gathered, before their constituencies, and thus correct any erroneous impression on the part of the public. I apprehend that the great difficulty in the passage of bill 166 will be the assumption of unconstitutionality, on the grounds of the case referred to. Hence, the Committee desired to show that the opinion then held is not now the law.

LANCASTER, PA., January 17th, 1870.

*Hon. J. F. Chamberlain, Chairman Committee on Vice and Immorality,
House of Representatives, Harrisburg, Penn'a :*

SIR: In the belief that it is not improper, I respectfully submit the following observations and references to judicial decisions in support of the constitutionality of the law proposed by the House Bill, No. 166, "Entitled an Act to enable the citizens of Pennsylvania to determine whether the general sale of intoxicating liquors shall be permitted," which is now before the Committee on Vice and Immorality for consideration and report. I am constrained to write you, because informed that the constitutionality of this enactment is doubted, on the authority of the case of *Parker vs. Commonwealth*, 6 Barr Rep. 507, declaring the Act of 7th April, 1846, unconstitutional. I shall not attempt an argument of the principle involved, but merely refer to cases decided in this and other States, which is confidently believed sustains fully enactments of this character, and by weight of argument as well as judicial authority overrules *Parker vs. Commonwealth*.

This bill, if enacted into a law, will become a general law, but not to take effect in any district (*i. e.*, County, City, Borough, Ward, or Township) until upon the petition of at least one-fourth of the legal voters, the Court of Quarter Sessions of the County in which petitioners reside shall direct an election to be held, and a majority of votes cast at such election are cast in favor of accepting the law in such district. The laws now in force governing the sale of liquors remain in force until this law is accepted. It is thus identical with the school law of 1836, and of many other laws of this and other States, and also of the Act of Congress of 9th of July, 1846, retroceding the County of Alexandria, in the District

of Columbia, to the State of Virginia, the constitutionality of which have never been judicially doubted.

By the Act of 1836 an election was directed to be held at stated periods within each school district, at which the question of establishing Common Schools should be decided by the qualified voters of each district. If a majority of ballots should contain the word "schools," the School Directors should establish schools; but if the majority should contain the words "no schools," the system was not to go into operation.

By the Act of Congress of 9th of July, 1846, it is provided—"That this Act shall not be in force until after the assent of the people of the County and Town of Alexandria shall be given to it, in the mode hereinafter provided"—and after specifying the manner in which the vote shall be taken and recorded, says in the same section: "but if a majority of the said votes so given shall be cast against accepting the provisions of this Act, then it shall be void and of no effect, but if a majority of the said votes should be in favor of accepting the provision of this Act, then this Act shall be in full force."

In the case of the *Commonwealth vs. Painter*, 10 Barr Rep. 214—the Judge delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in citing this Act of Congress as authority, says: "Many of the most profound Constitutional lawyers in the Union were in Congress at that time; and the State of Virginia never hesitated to accept the retrocession, because the Congress of the United States delegated to the people the decision of the question. This Act, under all the circumstances, must, therefore, be considered as high authority, and a precedent in the development of the Constitutional functions of the legislative power." The Court says: We are of opinion that the Act of March, 1847, submitting the question to a vote of the qualified electors of the county, was Constitutional and valid."

The case of *Parker vs. Commonwealth*, 6th Barr 507, will chiefly be relied upon by those who may maintain the unconstitutionality of the Act now before you for consideration; but I respectfully submit that the cases of *Commonwealth vs. Quarter Sessions*, 8th Barr 391, and *Commonwealth vs. Painter*, 10 Barr 214, have overruled it, *Parker vs. Commonwealth*; and that they with the cases of *Johnson vs. Rich*, 9th Barber, N. Y., Rep. 680, *People vs. Reynolds*, 5th Gillman, Ill., Rep. 1 to 20, *Starin vs. the town of Genoa*, 23 N. Y. Rep. 439, *Burgess vs. Pue*, 2nd Gill. (Md. Rep.) 19. The *State vs. Clark*, 8 Foster, (N. H. Rep.) 176, and the *State vs. Noyes*, 10 Foster, (N. H. Rep.) 291, *Brig Aurora vs. U. S.*, 7th Cranch 382, fully establish the doctrine that the Legislature can enact laws to go into effect upon the majority of the voters accepting, by ballot, such act.

The case of *Parker vs. Commonwealth*, 6th Barr 507, has been specially and at length reviewed by the Supreme Court of New York, in *Johnson*

vs. Rich, 9th Barr. 680; and by the Supreme Court of Illinois, in the *People vs. Reynolds*, 5th Gillman, 19 &c., in cases involving the same principle, and its reasoning not accepted.

In *Johnson vs. Rick*, Johnson, J., says: "I have examined that case (*Parker vs. Commonwealth*) with great care, and am constrained to say, with all due respect, that in my judgment it cannot stand the test of time and security upon the reasons assigned by the learned judge who delivered the opinion of the Court."

In *People vs. Reynolds*, Oaton J., says: "We are unable to appreciate the danger or impropriety, either in a political or legal view, of allowing the Legislature to vest a discretion of this kind, depending upon many local circumstances for its proper exercise, either in the people or the Court, either of whom may in truth be much better qualified to exercise it understandingly than the Legislature itself." "The law, as passed, was complete and perfect, although its principal provisions were to take effect upon a contingency; the determination of which did not depend upon the exercise of legislative powers by the people, but upon an expression which they were authorized to make, rather in execution than in the enactment of the law, an expression to be made in a legitimate and ordinary way."

"The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania," as Judge Johnson remarks, "in two subsequent cases have entirely receded from the ground attempted to be maintained in that case (*Parker vs. Commonwealth*) although they have not openly or in terms overruled it. In the case of *Commonwealth vs. Quarter Sessions*, 8 Barr Rep. 391, it was held distinctly that the Legislature might repeal a law through the means of a popular vote. A new township had been erected from a part of another township, and subsequently the Legislature passed an Act submitting it to the electors of the old and new townships to determine by ballot whether the new township should continue or be annulled. If a majority of the votes were in favor of the new township, it was to remain; if opposed, it was to be annulled, and remain as though no township had been erected." In *Commonwealth vs. Painter* the same question arose, submitting to the determination of the electors whether the seat of justice of Delaware County should continue where it was then located by law, or be removed to some other place. This was also held to be constitutional. In both cases *Parker vs. Commonwealth* was evoked as establishing a contrary doctrine.

You will please remember that *Parker vs. Commonwealth* was decided by a majority (three) of the Judges of our Supreme Court, two of the Judges (Coulter and Burnside) dissenting. I respectfully but confidently and earnestly ask your examination of the dissenting opinion published in *Penna Law Journal*, Vol. 7, New Series, Vol. 2, page 215, and submit that for force and clearness of reasoning and illustration, the opinion

of the minority is far more satisfactory to the judgment, open to conviction, than that of the majority. An examination of the adjudged cases in the several States, will result in the conclusion that the ruling in *Parker vs. Commonwealth* would not now be sustained; and that the weight of judicial authority will sustain the following: That a law containing a provision that it shall become operative in a district or municipality, at the election of the people of such district or municipality, which election shall be evidenced by a majority vote of the electors thereof, is constitutional and valid.

I submit a few cases, with the reasoning of the Courts, briefly to show their applicability to the law now before your committee.

The New York Courts sustain the above proposition, though they have declared unconstitutional a statute which, submitted to a popular vote, the question whether the enactment should become a law or not. In the case of *Starin vs. The Town of Genoa*, 23 N. Y. Rep. 439, "an Act to authorize the town of Sterling to borrow money and tax the town for the payment; but, providing, that before the bonds were issued, the assent of two-thirds of the resident tax-payers of the town should first be obtained and filed in the Clerk's Office, was held to be constitutional. Lott. J. says: "This act is not unconstitutional, because it became operative upon a condition precedent. It took effect immediately on its passage. It conferred certain powers and rights which any town could avail itself at its own election; that election to be determined by the will of the tax-payers. It was not like the free school law, (New York,) declared by this Court to be unconstitutional in *Barto vs. Himrod*, 4th Seld. 483. In that case, instead of declaring the act to be a law, the Legislature submitted it to the people of the whole State, to determine by a majority of votes, whether it should become a law or not. In this case the act took effect at once, but the parties to be affected by it were at liberty to accept the privileges granted and incur the burdens and obligations imposed by that acceptance, as their interest or will should dictate. Any town can take the benefit of it and make it effective as to themselves, irrespective of the election or will of others."

An act similar to its nature and purpose was passed in 1853, by which the village of Rome was authorized to subscribe for, and hold stock in a railroad; but the Board of Trustees should have no power to make the subscription nor issue bonds in payment, until the act had been approved by two-thirds of the electors, to be determined by their ballots at a special election, to be held for the purpose. This act was sustained, and Johnson J. said that it was only a submission to a vote of the parties interested of the question, whether or not they chose that the municipal corporation should avail itself of the privileges of the law. The Legislature created the law and provided the necessary machinery, leaving the balance to the electors.

In *Johnson vs. Rich*, 9th Barr. 608, the Court says: "To hold that the Legislature may enact laws, but shall not prescribe the time, or event, or condition upon which they shall take effect, would be to qualify and abridge powers clearly and necessarily vested in them.

"The full and unqualified power to legislate for the State, upon all constitutional subjects, necessarily comprehends the power to prescribe, not only the time when the act shall become operative, but also the event or condition upon which it shall become so.

"If it be conceded that the Legislature may prescribe conditions and pass acts to take effect only on the happening of some event or contingency, it must follow that they may prescribe any event or condition they may deem proper, whether the condition be the result of an election or the breaking out of the cholera."

In Illinois this kind of legislation has been sustained as constitutional. In *People vs. Reynolds*, 5th Gillman, 11, Judge Carter says: "In the case when the division of a county was submitted to the electors, the law was complete and perfect, though it was to take effect upon a contingency, the determination of which did not depend upon the exercise of legislative power by the people, but upon an expression which they were authorized to make, rather in execution than the enactment of the law. It is simply executing the law which vested them with a discretion. There can be no impropriety, either in a political or legal view, in allowing the Legislature to vest a discretion of this kind, depending upon many local circumstances for its proper exercise, either in the electors or in the Court. Many cities and towns have been empowered to pass laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors; the authority may be conferred upon a board of trustees, or the City Council. It might be conferred upon the Mayor alone, or the Common Council, or the electors; this is all a proper matter for legislative discretion."

In Maryland the same doctrine is sustained. In *Burgess vs. Pue*, 2 Gill. 19, the Court of Appeals held that the Legislature had the power to delegate the power of taxation to the taxable inhabitants. Grants of similar power to other bodies for political purposes have been coeval with the Constitution itself, and no serious doubts have been entertained of their validity.

In New Hampshire the same doctrine is held. In the *State vs. Noyes*, the Court says: "It is not apparent how there can be any objection to the enactment of laws to take effect upon the occurrence of future events, such as the Legislature may prescribe. Laws framed to take effect upon conditions, upon the pleasure of parties to be affected by them, are common everywhere. A statute is valid, though it is only to be operative on those terms in which it is adopted in town meeting."

Other cases, illustrative of the same principle, might be cited, but the

cases named herein fully show that laws, to go into effect upon the vote of districts to be affected by them, are constitutional and valid.

With great respect,

Yours truly,

JAMES BLACK.

Mr. J. R. Sypher—I move that the resolution attached to the report just read be adopted without reference.

The report and resolution were then adopted by an overwhelming vote.

The Chair—Then I am to understand that this resolution is unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Dr. Stebbins, of Chester,—No, sir! I wish the Convention to distinctly understand that such a resolution as this cannot have my consent. It is simply the endorsement of another license law.

Mr. Hicks, of Philadelphia, also opposed the resolution.

Rev. Pennel Coombe, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the Governor, the House of Representatives, and the Senate of Pennsylvania.

Agreed to.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. Black, Chairman of the State Central Committee, submitted the report of their action during the year.

General Patton, of Bradford, moved the adoption of the Report. Agreed to.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. George E. Wagner, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, submitted the following Report :

President—John Bardsley, Philadelphia.

Vice-Presidents—Benjamin Rush Bradford, Beaver ; David E. Small, York ; Robert Eastburn, Bucks ; Rev. George Hill, Indiana ; Rev. T. R. Jones, Cambria ; Hon. John F. Chamberlain, Bradford ; Barr Spangler, Lancaster ; Gen. A. H. Goffroth, Somerset ; John F. Taylor, Philadelphia ; James W. Wier, Dauphin ; Moses Auge, Montgomery ; J. Johnson, Allegheny ; Rev. G. B. Rogers, Susquehanna ; William H. Jones, Fayette ; E. P. H. Martin, Chester.

Treasurer—Luther S. Kauffman, Schuylkill.

Secretaries—Charles Mason, Bucks ; Joseph W. Martin, Philadelphia ; Miss Wright, Lancaster ; J. P. Thompson, Blair ; John M. Gilmore, Franklin.

Mr. J. R. Sypher, of Philadelphia, moved that the report be adopted.

Agreed to.

Mr. Wagner then conducted the President elect to the Chair.

Mr. Chase.—Allow me to introduce to the Convention, Mr. Bardsley, of Philadelphia, the Permanent President.

Mr. Bardsley said:

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of this Convention.—I must return to you my hearty and sincere thanks for the honor to-day conferred upon me. I feel honored in being selected to preside over the deliberations of this very important Convention; and I trust that the business that may be brought before us, may receive our calm, cool, and brotherly consideration. Matters of vital importance to the weal of mankind will be presented to us, and I trust they will receive only proper consideration. I hope and expect much from this Convention, and I am well assured that the people of this great State are to-day watching, with feelings of anxiety, for the result of our deliberations. I am well assured, also, that the House and the Senate, now in session, are awaiting what we may have to say to them. I feel that if we transact our business with dignity, as becomes this large body of temperance people, that we shall receive the sanction and the approval of the great masses of our State. There is no point that we have reached in our efforts to bring before the people the evils of intemperance; there is no time in our past history when this subject has received the serious attention it is now receiving. I believe my brothers, that the people are right. I believe that they are ready for some earnest and decisive action on our part. I believe that suffering humanity is loudly calling upon us to come to the rescue. I have great faith in the good, sound, common-sense voters of the State; that they will endorse and sustain any measure we may have to suggest. I feel that, as a Temperance Convention, emanating from the religious and temperance organizations of the State, we have great weight. But we must give the measures before us a most earnest and careful attention. We must not go before the people with a mixed idea, without some plain, tangible, proper system. We must ask for something that can be granted, and I have no fears of the action of the Legislature or of the people. I am well satisfied that if we do not get what we ask from the members of the Legislature, that it is our bounden duty to appeal to the people. I hold that we, the people, have within our power the making of such laws as we may desire, and if we allow the present intolerable license system to remain on our statute books, that we are responsible for the lives lost, and the misery resulting. Holding that we occupy this responsible position in the community, I feel greatly the responsibility that rests upon us to-day. I feel that above all—above everything—we should have naught

before us but the good of the temperance cause. We are banded together here to-day to advance the interests of humanity; to present to the people some tangible weapon with which we can grapple with this fell enemy of mankind; and while we have the power, and use it not, God will hold us amenable for the results. I have no desire to absorb the time of the Convention in any lengthy remarks. We are here for work—earnest, vigorous work; and, while I would let every brother have the opportunity to express his opinions, we must not forget that time and tide wait for no man, and that we must be up and doing—that we must perform something, and present some practical plan to the people; that we must lose sight of little ideas, and abandon all selfish motives whatever. Let all, for the time being, bury their respective personal opinions in the past. Disarm yourselves of everything except the one grand idea of temperance. [Applause.] It matters not who proposes a measure, or from what organization it emanates. I would have you instead, to feel that honor may originate from any one.

I thank you again, brethren, for the honor you have conferred upon me. I trust our deliberations may result in great good, and that before our next Annual Convention shall meet, the people of this good old Commonwealth may rejoice in a new law, either entirely prohibitory, or as near that as can be obtained. [Prolonged applause.] The Convention is now ready for business.

REFERENCE OF RESOLUTIONS, &C.

Mr. Sypher—I move that all papers and resolutions presented to this Convention be read by their titles and referred to the Committee on Business without debate.

Agreed to.

Mr. Sypher, introduced a “Resolution recommending the adoption of local action in the acceptance of laws, and the selection of officers to enforce such laws.”

Referred to the Committee on Business.

LETTER FROM FATHER HERITAGE.

Mr. Reed, of Philadelphia, presented a letter from the Rev. Charles Heritage, of Philadelphia, to William Nicholson, Esq., as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 31, 1870.

WM. NICHOLSON, ESQ., *Sec'y. Penn'a State Temperance Union,*

DEAR SIR:—In response to your request of the 26th instant, I beg leave to submit the following:

Since the inauguration of the “Temperance Blessing,” Nov. 10, 1868, the meetings have steadily increased in interest, and it is impossible to estimate the good accomplished. Many, whose cases were considered

hopeless, have been restored to society and usefulness, and are now filling positions of honor and profit. Some of these were literally clothed in rags and shame, and have been brought out of the depths into which they had fallen, and show an earnestness and zeal in the cause which has proved so great a blessing to themselves, their families, and friends; are prepared by their words and actions to demonstrate that life is earnest, and that it is real, and that its true instincts are against all that can intoxicate.

Our Quarterly Report, rendered July 6th, 1869, stated the fact that the pledge-book contained 453 names. At that date the room was closed for the purpose of cleaning, and being put in order for the Fall term of the Courts.

The meetings were resumed September the 21st, since which time 359 names have been added to the pledge, making a grand total of 812 up to the present date—the result of fifty-six meetings held in Independence Hall, showing an average of about 15 signers at each meeting.

In addition to the regular meetings, the first Anniversary of the "Blessing" was celebrated in Concert Hall, December 4th, 1869, at which Judge Allison presided. Able and eloquent clergymen were present and addressed the audience. On the evening of December 31st, an extra meeting was called at the usual place, entitled "The Temperance Blessing Watch Meeting." The room was crowded to its utmost capacity, and many were compelled to retire, being unable to find even standing room. The evening was spent in exercises of an agreeable character, and urgent appeals were made to those present to join. As the bell in the State House steeple proclaimed the hour of twelve, and the New Year was ushered in, *many* deemed it a propitious moment, and came forward, enrolled their names on the pledge-book, and gave their assurance that 1870 was to be, in one sense at least, a new year to them.

Were we to open our pledge-book, as the names their recorded pass in review, and the history of some be written, the difference between "then" and "now" made apparent, the results would be more than gratifying and astonishing. Providence has smiled upon our labors; the anthems of joy in Heaven have echoed again and again; the hearts of earth made glad, and peace and happiness found abiding places where they were thought to have been forever banished. Individual cases and families have been visited by the chairman and members, and it is believed that many have rejoiced that the "Blessing" has thus been found.

In compliance with the suggestion of Senator Wilson, made at the recent meeting of the Congressional Temperance Society, an extra meeting of the "Blessing" was held at the Assembly Buildings on Monday evening, January 24th, to perfect plans for a grand Temperance Celebration on the 22d of February next. A Committee of thirteen was

appointed to carry them into effect. The call has been responded to, and gatherings will be held in various sections of the city on that day.

Thus it will be seen we have been progressive, and whilst fully alive to the spirit of the age, we indulge in the prayerful hope that by the Providence of God our Association may continue to be one of His selected agencies through which Temperance, the source of every blessing, may continue to disseminate its teachings, and eminently practice and proclaim the Divine rule, to "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Respectfully Yours, &c.,

CHARLES HERITAGE,

Chairman of Temperance Blessing.

THE LOCAL OPTION BILL.

Col. M'Farland—Let me ask for the reading of the act presented to the Legislature, which has been made the special order for next Thursday evening. It is a matter of great importance that we should all understand this bill, and its reading will enable us to prepare for the discussion of such measures as may be presented in the due order of the business which has convoked this assembly. I, fortunately, have a copy of the bill. In this connection, I think I can give you some serviceable information. Last year the Business Committee was continued, and instructed to prepare a bill, and submit it to the Legislature. That Committee was empowered to appoint a sub-committee of three. That sub-committee prepared a bill and presented it to the Legislature. When presented to the Committee on Vice and Immorality, the question was fully discussed, and there being many members present at this meeting, very much information was imparted to the Legislature, which would not have reached their ears, and their understandings, in any other way. In this connection, I may remark that the Hon. John T. Chamberlain permitted himself to be a candidate for the House at the succeeding election, with the public and distinctive understanding that his great work should be the passage of this act. On that issue he was triumphantly re-elected. He had hardly got here, in attendance upon his duties as a Representative of the people, when he again introduced this bill, which passed unanimously the Committee on Vice and Immorality. This bill is now on the file of the House of Representatives, ready for discussion on Thursday evening. The attention of members has been brought to bear emphatically upon the question. Their constituents have not been idle. The petitions presented to the Legislature have footed up some *fifty thousand names*. This law, I am lead to believe, can be passed at this Legislature, if it has our earnest endorsement. Our business, then, is to look into the merits of that law, and thus giving it our attention, to communicate to the Legislature our sentiments upon it. That act, in the shape in which it is presented to you, is very much con-

densed. There is not a word in it that can be erased. I have no doubt that this Convention will stand by it, substantially *as it is*. I believe, too, that the Legislature will endorse our action. The danger, however, is that it may be modified, or killed with amendments. But every delegate here has his influence in that direction. If that influence is exerted in the proper manner, upon the individual members of the Legislature, with whom the delegates are acquainted, there is no doubt of our triumphant success. I am in favor of endorsing the passage of that act. Let us say to the Legislature, if you pass this bill we will accept it in good faith. Let us go home and organize in cities, towns, boroughs, townships, and wards, and explain it to the voters of our respective districts; and let us see, if the law is adopted, that it is faithfully executed. If the Legislature refuse to do this act of justice, then I am in favor of such organization as will provide and prepare for other legislation. [Applause.]

The Chair—The Secretary will read the bill.

Mr. Hicks—I object.

The Chair—Shall the bill be read?

On this question a division was demanded—yeas 76, nays 36.

So the bill was ordered to be read.

[*See Paper B in Appendix.*]

Mr. Flavel, of Delaware—The people of Delaware County are very much interested in the bill now before the House of Representatives, which has just been read, and in the petitions in support of it. The people of the borough of Media, however, are, if anything, still more interested in this measure. This borough was chartered by the Legislature some twenty years ago, and in that charter there is a clause prohibiting, forever, the sale of intoxicating liquors within its limits. Now some gentlemen, including a number in the legal profession, have construed this bill to present the matter of prohibition in Media as an open question again, giving the people of that borough the privilege of voting, as in other districts of the Commonwealth, whether or not liquor may be sold within its limits. This is a matter important to the neighborhood, and has caused some agitation. Now, we temperance people of that vicinity do not want this question opened again in Media. I am not a lawyer, but some lawyers have decided that this bill, if passed, will not open the question again. Others, however, believe that it will. This is not the case in Media only, but there are some other chartered boroughs in the State, having just such provisions in their incorporate acts. I would suggest a recommendation that the Legislature insert some provision to the

effect that where the organic law provides against the sale of liquor no vote shall be taken on the question.

Col. McFarland—The member from Delaware, or from any other County, can readily have excepted from the provisions of this law any borough or district in his county, when the bill is before the Legislature for action, when such district is already provided with an acceptable law. Any County, Township, City, or Borough can be thus exempted.

Mr. Flavel—Yes, sir. But the member from that county might be importuned in the wrong direction. [Laughter.]

Col. McFarland—Then the temperance men will have to be up and doing; though it is probable that this law will not open the question in Media.

Mr. Flavel—There are other boroughs covered by similar provisions. What I wanted was a Committee from this Convention to have the bill so amended as to avoid all probability of making it an open question in the boroughs to which I have alluded.

Col. McFarland.—The laws on our Statute books now are so crude and imperfect that the temperance men would generally prefer this law to any other. We examined all the laws on the Statute books on this subject, and we found them generally very lame and ineffective, there being so many loop-holes through which to creep.

Dr. Stebbins, of Chester.—I am aware that in saying what I feel it my duty to say in regard to this proposed law, I am in opposition, perhaps, to almost every member of this Convention. But I beg you will pardon me in saying a few words on the subject, and that you will allow perfect freedom of discussion. I regard this law as a license law, and for this reason I cannot conscientiously vote for it. Twenty-two years ago, I aided in getting up this same law, and carried it through seventeen counties in the State, but it was upset in the Supreme Court. Taking the able Report of Mr. Black, however, I believe that that decision has itself been virtually upset. But, sir, I think we become, ourselves, parties to the sale of rum, by favoring the enactment of this law; and, if it is to be sold, I want it to be sold against my vote, my voice, and my action. If there is anything of which I am afraid, it is making people drunkards. [Applause.] Suppose it were a question of stealing, or a question of murder. By this bill, I say, you virtually acknow-

ledge the principle that where there is a majority in favor of murder, we must quietly submit to their decision. Is there a minister of the gospel in this house who does not coincide with me in this? Is there a conscientious man here who will consent to the sale of rum where there is a majority in favor of it? I know you are all for this bill. It has already been rushed through the Convention. I have done all I could to oppose it. I have endeavored to get my views on this question before the people, but the press has been closed against me, and I am unable to present to the public a single argument against it. You have adopted it; it will go through; but listen to what I have got to say. I prophesy this Legislature will pass no such law—mark my words. You may think me crazy; but the chairman of that Committee on Vice and Immorality tells me the chances are not now so good as they were at first. If you *will* go for it; why, go for it. But bear in mind that you endorse crime—the worst crime that man can commit. I am at all times for prohibiting wrong, vice, and immorality. If people *will* do wrong, I want them to do wrong against the law, and in the teeth of the law. I am much obliged to the Convention for listening to me, for I know what I have said is against the convictions of nearly all.

Gen. Robert L. Bodine, of Philadelphia.—Would you not prefer this bill to the present license law?

Dr. Stebbins.—Yes; but I would not be a party to it. I would rather not have any law than any license law whatever. A license law does no good. It does harm. All it does is to legalize the traffic in whiskey. I would rather, therefore, have free trade in liquor.

Dr. Longshore, of Philadelphia.—I would inform my friend, Dr. Stebbins, with whom I have fought in the cause many years, that he speaks my mind. We, who have battled in the cause for thirty years or more, who have stood in the front ranks of the battle when many here were in their swaddling clothes, know, perhaps, as much about the temperance movement as they. This is only another means for legalizing the sale of rum—nothing else. I would ask, temperance men and women of Pennsylvania, have you left your homes, and spent your money, in coming here to legislate for the authorized sale of rum? I, for my part, come here to vote against the sale of rum in any shape. [Applause.] I come from a district

where there are a great many foreigners, who have it in their power to vote us down at any time. I, therefore, want a bill that is clean. I want an entirely prohibitory liquor law, [Applause.] We are told that this law is trying to cull the tree by picking off the leaves. But, I say, lay the axe to the root! [Applause.] We must tell the men on the "Hill" that we stand upon the platform of total abstinence. This is only another movement of the whiskey ring. Then, too, we are told, sir, that we can do nothing better—a cowardly and mean admission! Are the temperance men ready to make that admission? If the movement for a prohibitory liquor law may, in its execution, perchance prove powerless, let us see, at least, what we can do. When our National Congressional enactments were sent South, we were told they could not be enforced. But I guess they were! [Laughter and applause.] I will not consent, at all events, to the popular sentiment prevalent, not only among the grog shops, but among the temperance people themselves. I am ashamed, indeed, of us, as a people, in Pennsylvania. Now, I agree with Brother Stebbins, that the law, even as sickly and infantile, and weakly as it is, will not meet the favor of the people on the "Hill." I would rather be called an old sheep than a lamb, if we were going to the "Hill" to be defeated on a prohibitory law—not on this. These are my principles, and I think I would feel easier in asking for their enforcement, than in voting for the bill before the Convention.

A Delegate—We are told that if this bill should be passed by the Legislature, it would be an injudicious act on the part of the representatives of the people. You might as well tell me that because the Christian religion was preached eighteen hundred years ago, it should be abandoned, because the people would not listen to its teachings. One gentleman says you might as well pass a law of this character against stealing. I cannot see the logic of that. If there had been a law upon our statute book justifying the crime of theft, or murder, as there are and have been laws upon our statute books justifying the sale of liquor, then there would be justice in such a parallel. Now, we *have* a statute legalizing the traffic in rum—a general license law. We have none, however, legalizing theft. Gentlemen must see at a glance the injustice of this argument. I am, at all times, prepared to take every advance step towards a prohibitory liquor law. But, because we

cannot at once reach prohibition, shall we reject every intermediate proposition that will advance us in an onward movement for a prohibitory law? I cannot see the justice of opposing this bill. There are a great many communities that will vote against the licensing of any public places for the sale of intoxicating drinks. Will not *that* be an improvement? Then are we not bound, as temperance men and women, to make every advance step in that direction? Trusting and believing that the good sense of the people, in a time not far distant, will see the justice of an exclusive law upon the subject for all time to come, should we not be discreet, or rather should we not display our wisdom, in recommending the passage of a law so near the hearts of the people, the tendency of which is in the advance? Shall we not, indeed, hope that it will be an onward movement that will, in due time, lead to the final realization of all our aspirations? [Applause.]

Mr. Brosius—I apprehend, sir, that the arguments of the Doctor on my right and the arguments of the Doctor on my left are worth just what they bring. Now, supposing my friend on the right, or my friend on the left should to-night go to his home and find his house in flames. I reach there in time to witness the raging of the fiery element, and I say to the Doctor, ‘we cannot save your house and all your furniture, nor even some of your sleeping family; but we *can* save *some* of those whom you love so much. Your reply, according to the tenor of your speeches this afternoon, would be, “then I will not save anything!” [Applause.] Would not that be poor logic? Now, a desolation is sweeping over the land—a desolation worse than that of fire—and we point out a method by which, though we cannot entirely prevent the evil, we can mitigate its ravages. I say that when the Doctor on my right and the Doctor on my left turn a deaf ear to this reasonable advice, we may with reason charge upon them the crime of complicity in this infamous traffic. [Applause.] While we do not hope, nor intend, by this bill to entirely destroy this monster, we do claim that it will mitigate the evil. Ought it not, sir, be our earnest desire to *mitigate* all moral and social evils that have taken such deep root amongst us? Every good citizen desires that tranquillity in society which can be secured. The only effect of this bill is to mitigate this evil, Why then do we not want it? We are told

by a man who has battled for many years in the cause, whose locks are silvered by upwards of seventy-five winters, that we do not want this law because it is not a prohibitory law, because it is only half the truth, and half a truth attached to half a lie is worth nothing. That is a nice utterance, but it is not sound logic. If the Doctor wanted bread, and you brought him half a loaf, he might refuse it, but I tell you, sir, that nature would bring him to terms. [Laughter and applause.] Now, we are famishing. Let us take the half loaf offered us. When you can get the people to accept the half of a truth, we have them in a position to accept the other half. If they will accept the local option law, that will serve as an educator. It will give them an appetite, which, in the course of a few years, will give them a demand for a radical measure. [Long and continuous applause.]

Dr. Stebbins.—The illustration about the burning house does not seem to me to fit the case. If the people were to gather around my house with the apparent determination to burn it, and no apparent desire to save it, and I would submit the question to the majority whether it should be burned or saved, that would be a case parallel to the one before the Convention. I am willing to admit that I would take half a loaf if I were hungry. But it would be bread—not a license law. I would not take a license law under any circumstances. I have been on the unpopular side for the last forty years. I hope, however, I shall be more popular in the next world; I sincerely trust I shall. The question with me is: Is it right for me to consent to the burning of my house, if the majority are in favor of it?

Mr. I. Newton Pierce, of Philadelphia.—I wish to call attention to a feature of the wording of this bill, which to me looks ill. We are plainly granting to the voters throughout the State the right to vote for license. That is the very term used in the bill. And not only that, but it seems to place the question rather in the affirmative. It is *for* or *against* the sale of liquor. Now, although I am in favor of the bill in the main, I am sorry that those who prepared it wrote it in that way—granting to the people of Pennsylvania the right to vote for the sale of liquor, and that, sir, I do not believe any man in this world has a right to do. It is merely the word with which I find fault.

Col. McFarland.—Will you allow one word in explanation?

Mr. Pierce.—Certainly; I would like it all explained away.

Col. McFarland.—The tendency of the wording is not in favor of the sale of liquor. It simply allows the Court, in the event of a majority for the existing law, to carry out the license law as it stands on our statute books. It cannot be construed as in any way admitting the traffic in liquor as a precedent right.

Mr. Pierce.—We will suppose a mother, as has happened in times past, robbed of her children by Indian savages. I ask you, if the question were put to that mother, “Will you take two of your children out of the four and be satisfied?” where is the mother that would respond, “Yes, I will take two and be satisfied?” I say she would demand *all* her children. She might take what she could get from her inhuman enemies, but she would cry for more, praying God and trusting in Providence for them all. She would exert every means God gave her for every one. There is no such thing, in this case, as a half a loaf being *better* than no bread. It will do for the body, but it is a contemptible argument in moral ethics and philosophy. Let us take all we can get first, and hold on to all we get; but do not say we will take half. Let us take this local option law and make the best use of it in our power. But do not let us go away from this Convention perfectly contented with this piece of the loaf, acknowledging that we ask no more, and rest upon our oars. [Applause.]

Mr. Brosius.—Suppose the mother knew she would get none of her children if she asked for them all? But if two were offered, would she not take them?

Mr. Pierce.—We never knew of such a thing. God has never taught us such discrimination.

Rev. Dr. Nevin, of Lancaster.—We have heard something said about “half a truth.” Now, half a truth is always a lie! [Applause.] Whenever an act is not honest, it is dishonest. Then in regard to another point there is a fallacy. If you ask me, as an individual, what I believe to be right, I can tell you. So with what I should wish to have in the administration of Government. But we believe in popular government, not in an aristocratic or despotic government. After all, a democratic government is the best. Is it possible, then, that we are afraid to submit this question to the popular will? The Legislature are but the representatives of the popular will. They have been elected by the popular

will. It is, therefore, wrong for us to sacrifice them on the popular will if we are not ourselves willing to trust it. Are we, then, willing to submit this question to the decision of the people? Supposing we are compelled to do so. If a majority goes against what we deem is right, I hold that I am not responsible for the decision, for I went for the right individually. The only way I can escape the obligation I owe to the popular decision, is by escaping from popular government. Oftentimes the decision of the majority has gone against my will. But, after all, I believe that this is the safest and best form of government. We take the ground in this law, that we do not feel ourselves called upon to decide, by our own votes, alone, this important question; but if you choose we will pass a law submitting it to the people of the different towns and townships of the State. Have we, then, come to that? Or are we willing to admit that we cannot trust the majority, and, therefore, do not believe in popular government? Something has been said about unfavorable districts. Lot was in an uncomfortable position in Sodom and Gomorrah. I suppose he ought to have left? [Laughter and applause.] The question is, shall the minority or the majority decide the question? That is the issue involved here. We, by our practice say the majority shall rule. That is what this law says. And if, after due deliberation and expression, we are willing to be a nation of drinkers, we shall have to submit to that decision. When the popular voice decides, where is your appeal? We must, if needs be, die in the appeal to the almighty voice of God! [Applause.] Let us pass this bill if we can. Let us try to enlighten the people, and show them that we trust, under God, that we may secure the popular consent of the enactment of laws under which we will occupy just such a position as we want.

Mr. Hicks—Suppose this bill is passed, what, sir, will be the result? Just this, sir: That in neighborhoods where the temperance sentiment and the moral atmosphere is good, I think we will be able to obtain a favorable decision on the local option law. But, I submit that we are able to do so without this law. Where our enemies have control of the affairs, what will happen? Take Philadelphia, for instance. On whom do the law-abiding, order-loving people of that city rely for aid in the suppression of this crime? I say, sir, that their reliance is upon the pure atmosphere of the country. You shear us of the strength of that, and you

take from us the influence of the country in making this law. Were we even assured that the Legislature will give us the law, just as we ask for it, where would our injury lie? Just in this. It would prevent us going to the Legislature to ask for anything more in this direction. It would drive the Temperance movement twenty-five years back.

A Delegate—Where is the law, or the constitutional provision, to prevent us asking anything more?

Mr. Hicks—It places us in this position: they would say, “Gentlemen we gave you what you wanted, and you need nothing more.”

The Same Delegate—We would go to them, sir, a year hence, for instance, and say to them: “We have been educated up to the proper point now, and we insist upon having more.” [Applause.]

Mr. Hicks—Why, they would say: “You have not tested this law yet! A local option law, aside from this reason, too, is wrong: I claim that no community has a right to say that a wrong shall exist. And we, as a Temperance Convention, are acknowledging, by asking for the passage of this bill, that the people have a right to say that a wrong shall exist. We have no right to do so, and therefore this bill is wrong, so far as our duties as delegates in this Convention are concerned. I have got near the end of my speech. I want to place myself right on this question. I am not willing to favor anything that looks like an acknowledgment of an evil. It is not Christian, moral, nor patriotic. It is not right in any sense. To say that a law shall be passed giving the people the right to legalize crime, is, in my opinion, a great error on the part of this Convention. I look upon the selling of liquors as one of the highest crimes in the world.

Mr. Reed—What constitutes crime?

Mr. Hicks—Anything that entails suffering, wrong and misery upon society.

Dr. Joseph Longshore, of Philadelphia, submitted a series of resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. Edwin H. Coates, of Philadelphia.—Who ever knew a truth to be brought to the worst in a free and open inquiry? I am glad, sir, that these Temperance Conventions are to be turned into educational schools, for if there is any one thing more than another that the people need to be educated in, in this country, it is the relations that they sustain towards this Government, and in the

religion that we, as a people, profess. We have been told, this afternoon, that this bill that is now before our Legislature, is in harmony and in keeping with the laws and principles of our Government. It may, Mr. Chairman, be in keeping with the usages of our Government. But the usages of a nation, and the laws of a nation, are two distinct things. Now, what are the laws of our nation? What are the essential principles laid down for the government of this great Commonwealth? They are embraced in this: That governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers by the consent of the governed, and that our Government has been instituted for the purpose of securing and protecting life, liberty, and happiness. That is what our Government is for, and anything inimical to life—in the least degree calculated to destroy life, liberty, or happiness—is not in accordance with law, but against all law, and in opposition to the purpose of the Government. We are told about the rights of majorities. But the majority has no right to impose upon the minority anything that militates against morality or the laws of God. Nor has the minority the right to impose anything immoral, or contrary to the Divine law, upon the majority. Minorities have rights as well as majorities. How did our anti-slavery people do? Did they go for half-way measures, striking off a limb here and a limb there? No! But it was a stern demand for immediate and unconditional emancipation. They made no conditions. When Clarkson, Wilberforce, O'Connell, and other bright stars in England, asked for emancipation, what did the British people do? They tried a partial law, but it failed. You can never make it work so long as the world lasts. Every attempt to control law by license will prove abortive. It proved so in the West Indies. How has it been in our own country? What did we ask for? First, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the freedom of the territories, and the abolition of the slave trade. But we went before the world some of us, for forty years, fighting for universal freedom, and, to-day, not a slave tramps his feet upon American soil. [Loud applause.] Forty years ago, I traversed the streets of Philadelphia for universal suffrage. We have got it for the black man, and will soon get it for the women. [Renewed applause.] If we ask for what is right, and educate the people up to that standard, we will get it. Now we talk

about the "hill" up there, as if all the evil in the world originated there. I will tell you that if all the churches in the land, Catholic and all, were a unit, there would be no fear of the people on the hill. [A voice: "That's so!"] Albert Barnes told me, thirty years ago, that if the churches of this country were a unit as to universal liberty, there was no power in the world to continue human slavery here for one year. If they were now a unit for entire abstinence, if they only believed it a part of their Christian duty to maintain inviolate this sacred principle, and march forth with that doctrine—every man preaching and practicing it—you could laugh your puny Legislators in the face. They would not amount to a row of pins. [Applause.] For twenty years I never cast my vote at an election on the subject of license. I am willing, however, that you should give this thing a trial, but I tell you in advance, that it is a waste of time. Do not spend your forces on men who, if you gain them, are of small account. Let us win the men who have power. In our Churches there is power; in our Sunday Schools there is power. When you get them right you have a lever with which you can move this terrible evil out of the way.

Mr. Hartman, of Lancaster.—I do not think there is, or need be, any difficulty in reference to this bill, as a license law. Let us make it so that we can all endorse it, and bring it before the Legislature of the State in such a shape as to meet the approval of all the friends of temperance united. I think it is a very easy matter for us to change the wording of any portion of the bill, and particularly in reference to the matter of tickets. Then, if we unite as one man, upon this subject, passing upon it as practical men, we can place this question in such a tangible form that we can go before the people of this Commonwealth, and ask all, with confidence, for the elective franchise. Every one of us may then lift his voice in his district for total prohibition. I think this is possible. I do not know what members of the Legislature are prepared to do or not prepared to do. But we can recommend such measures as we deem necessary to meet the case, and we have a right to expect such recommendation to be duly considered and acted upon favorably by the Legislature. We have no reason to expect anything better than that which we may here recommend. We must remember, too, in this discussion, that our free school law had as much opposition, at one time, as to-day is raised against the temperance cause.

But the common school law was enacted. Yet, when the question was submitted to the people, the same question of law and constitutionality as that involved here—the right of the citizens in districts to decide for or against the adoption of a law—was raised. By the enactment now proposed, the people can accept total prohibition by districts, and I submit that, in the light and intelligence of the nineteenth century, can we not, with reasonable hope, expect, as time rolls round, the same success as has attended the common school system? Why, to-day, notwithstanding the general prevalence of common schools in Pennsylvania, there *are* districts in this Commonwealth that have not yet accepted that system. Can we not, therefore, take courage and go on? I have no doubt that the wording of this bill can be so amended as to be satisfactory to all.

Mr. Lichtenburg, of Pottsville.—Can you have anything stronger than a law prohibiting the sale of liquor? This bill gives us the power to vote down the whole liquor traffic.

Gen. Patton, of Towanda—I have not voice strong enough to express myself intelligibly in this Hall, but I desire to say a few words. A number of speeches have been made, in a spread-eagle style, on this question. To my mind the whole matter is summed up in this: We have offered us a law which, if enacted, will accomplish, in part, the noble work in which we are engaged. I will go with any brother, to the farthest, for prohibition. But if we cannot get that, let us get something. If we cannot conquer the lion, let us cripple him, Let us adopt this bill. Let us do something in the way of crushing the whiskey ring. In townships where we can carry this law into effect for the total suppression of the liquor traffic, we can hurt the whiskey ring to that extent. The friends of temperance will at least make, out of the money saved on this prohibition, enough to use with advantage against the enemy. Let us cripple them, and then cut off the head. They complain that we are going to destroy their liberties, but it is their liberty to destroy husbands, wives, and children. This is the liberty of which they are so jealous, Now, I am very anxious this bill should pass. I have examined it closely. There are features in it which I like, and which, I think, are calculated to accomplish a great deal of good. I repeat, let us do something. If we can cripple the enemy let us do it, in God's name. Let us have all the advantage we can obtain.

Mr. Brosius—I move that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at half past seven o'clock this evening.

Agreed to.

INVITATION TO GOV. GEARY.

Mr. Booth—I move that a Committee be appointed to visit the Governor, and invite him to be present at one or more of our sessions.

Agreed to.

The Chair appointed on said Committee Messrs. Edwin Booth, of Philadelphia; James Black, of Lancaster, and William Davis, of Philadelphia.

Adjourned.

FIRST DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The President, Mr. John Bardsley, called the Convention to order at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Rev. Mr. Hill led in prayer.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

Mr. James Black, Chairman of the Committee on Business, presented the majority report of that Committee, which was read as follows :

I. *Resolved*, That to God, the Supreme Ruler and Guide, we return our thanks for the light he has given, all through the history of the Temperance Reform; and regarding Temperance as part of His plan for the enlightenment and salvation of men, we invoke His presence and His blessing upon this Convention, that its deliberations may be conducted in His fear, and its conclusions sanctioned by the Holy Spirit.

Resolved, That the experience and the investigation of another year but confirm our confidence in the fundamental principles of the Temperance Reform, as heretofore enunciated and settled by National conventions.

II. *Resolved*, That the principle and the practice of total abstinence can never be firmly established in any community, unless they are adopted and honored in the family, the Church, the Ministry, the seminaries of learning, and the Government and laws of the State and nation. To this object, therefore, the efforts of the friends of Temperance should be steadily directed.

IV. *Resolved*, That Scripture, science and history demonstrate that total abstinence from intoxicating drinks is the only true, and is therefore the bounden duty of every man.

V. *Resolved*, That the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks are everywhere a public injury, and should be held to be a public crime.

VI. That the granting of license, by the State to sell intoxicating drinks, is not only ruinous, demoralizing and sinful, but also a great public disgrace, and we do hereby record our most earnest and unqualified protest against a continuation of said system.

VII. *Resolved*, That Governments are instituted for the protection of the lives and property of the governed, and that legislation for the removal or correction of these evils becomes a political question of paramount importance to all citizens of the Commonwealth.

VIII. *Resolved*, That as the licensed liquor hotels, inns, taverns, or eating houses are created by the political power of the State, and being political creatures of the State, the evils arising therefrom may rightfully be removed, as all other political evils are, through the ballot box.

IX. *Resolved*, That when existing parties fail to accept, as part of their political faith, measures vital to the public peace and welfare, it is the privilege and plain duty of all good citizens, desiring such measures, to unite in such manner as will be effective in securing their adoption.

WHEREAS, It has now become the duty of all true Temperance men and good citizens who desire faithfully to maintain their Temperance principles and convictions, and neither by inaction nor indirect action, through present parties, to support the licensed traffic in intoxicating drinks; therefore we recommend to the friends of Temperance the adoption of the expedient of local option whenever practicable; and that in the acceptance of any act or acts of the Legislature for the suppression of the general sale of intoxicating liquors, and in the selection of officers to enforce such laws, when accepted, they should labor to accomplish this purpose by co-operating with existing political parties, or by establishing independent organizations, as may be most expedient in their several districts.

XI. *Resolved*, That a State Central Committee, consisting of fifteen persons, be appointed, with power to add to their number until each county of the State shall have at least one member thereof, to whom shall be committed the power to execute the measures of this Convention, with full power to raise funds, employ agents, call State, District or County Conventions, and to perform such other duties as are usually performed by such committees, and best adapted to secure the object committed to their charge. That for prompt and efficient action, the Central Committee may form an Executive Committee from their own number, with power as they may from time to time decide.

XII. *Resolved*, That we recommend that the friends of Temperance, in the several counties, immediately organize for the purpose herein set forth, by the appointment of a County Committee of ————— to act in conjunction with the State Central Committee, and that the cities and

townships also organize by the appointment of a similar committee of three for each precinct or ward, in cities, and same number in townships, to co-operate with the County Committee.

XIII. *Resolved*, That we invite all persons, whether total abstinent or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the dram-shop, to unite with us in its overthrow, and to secure peace and order and the protection of persons and property.

WHEREAS, Various localities of the Commonwealth have, by special enactments, secured the repeal of the license laws heretofore in force, and

WHEREAS, Efforts are being made at the present session of the Legislature for the repeal of such local prohibition laws; therefore

XIV. *Resolved*, That in view of the facts that these laws have been in force but for limited periods, and give satisfaction to the friends of peace and good order, we earnestly pray the Legislature that these enactments may not be disturbed.

XV. *Resolved*, That we heartily respond to the request of the Congressional Temperance Society at Washington, D. C., and do request every Temperance organization in the State to make the Twenty-Second Day of February a special occasion, at which measures may be adopted to present the pledge of total abstinence to every man, woman and child in their localities, in accordance with such request.

XVI. *Resolved*, That we hereby acknowledge our great obligations to the multitude of Christian ministers and Churches who have so nobly advocated the claims of the Temperance cause, and we hereby call upon all Christian friends of Temperance, especially to remember in their prayers all ministers of the Gospel and professing Christian people who have not yet been converted to the cause of Temperance, confident that such prayers, throughout the State, will be heard, and that God will awaken all such delinquents, and give them hearts to feel for the victims of intemperance.

XVII. *Resolved*, That we cordially approve the good example of the President and Vice-President of the United States, and the Governor of this State, in banishing all intoxicating drinks from their mansions, and upon all occasions.

XVIII. *Resolved*, That the pernicious results of the manufacture and sale of the various kinds of alcoholic bitters, and the frequent use of alcoholic mixtures by practicing physicians, deserves our most unqualified condemnation.

XIX. *Resolved*, That the importance of gathering the children into juvenile temperance organizations cannot be too highly commended to parents and friends of the young; and we do earnestly hope organizations of this character may be formed where no such organizations do now exist.

XX. *Resolved*, That this Convention, recognizing the Press as a powerful agent in the education of the public mind, do earnestly recommend families and Sabbath Schools to supply their libraries with the publications of the National Temperance Society, and to support those newspapers that favor this cause.

Mr. E. H. Rauch, of Lancaster, moved the consideration of these resolutions, *seriatim*.

Mr. Hicks called for the reading of the minority report.

Mr. Rauch raised the point of order, that the majority report being before the Convention, it could not now be dispensed with without a violation of the rules, and that the reading of the minority report would require a two-thirds vote.

Mr. Sypher said that the Convention had not yet proceeded to the consideration of the majority report, and that it was not yet properly before the Convention.

The Chair decided the reading of the minority report as now in order.

Mr. Black then read the minority report of the Committee, being the substitution of the following in the place of the tenth resolution:

WHEREAS, It has now become the plain duty of all true Temperance men and good citizens who desire faithfully to maintain their Temperance principles and convictions, and neither by inaction, or indirect action through present parties, to support the licensed traffic in intoxicating drinks, to separate from their present party affiliations, and to unite and form the prohibition party of Pennsylvania for the overthrow, by lawful means, of the licensed dram shop.

[Signed by Messrs. Black, of Lancaster; Thompson, of Blair; Kirby, of Northumberland; Henderson, of Bucks, and Auge, of Montgomery.]

Mr. Rauch's motion was then agreed to, and the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee were read, *seriatim*.

The first resolution being read.

Rev. Pennel Combe, of Philadelphia, moved its adoption by the Convention singing the Doxology.

Agreed to, and the delegates, rising, joined in singing—Praise God, &c.

The 2d and 9th resolutions, inclusive, were unanimously agreed to.

The tenth resolution being read.

Mr. Claghorn, of Philadelphia, moved the reading of the minority report, embracing the substitute for this resolution.

Agreed to.

The minority report being read.

Mr. George E. Wagner, of Philadelphia, moved the adoption of the tenth resolution, as embraced in the majority report.

Mr. George H. Hicks, of Philadelphia, moved the adoption and substitution of the minority report.

Mr. Black, of Lancaster.—Mr. President, my views are for the minority report, rather than for the majority report. I apprehend, sir, that I do not see as other people see, for I am fully conscious, in the experience of the past, that I have many defects, and I very frequently doubt my own judgment. But, sir, in my observations bearing upon public peace and prosperity, and individual welfare there is no question that should engage the attention of the statesman and citizen of greater importance before the Christian people of this country, and possibly before the world, than is the question of temperance and its corollary of total abstinence, and the total abolition of the dram-shop. If it be true that the spirits in light have an interest in this mundane sphere, there can be no influence affecting human happiness for time and eternity more engaging than this very question of intemperance. If it is true that the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy, when man was created, I am very sure the morning stars have hushed their song, and are now draped in mourning because the purity of this world has departed. There is no question, therefore, either praying the indulgence of Heaven or the interest of earth, of equal importance to that of temperance. And we are here to-day, as a representative Temperance Convention, from all parts of the State, to do what we best can, with all sincerity, and in all love; bringing to the disposition of this question all the powers of mind and body for the purpose of removing this direful evil from amongst us. The inclinations of the public, the feeling that prompts every well-meaning member of society, that fills every patriot, everything that is high and noble, leads us to the contemplation of this question in the endeavor to find a remedy for the evils caused by the drink, which presses with so heavy a hand upon the peace and happiness of every family in the Commonwealth.

We may hold different views, and it is for the best and wisest

results that we do hold differing views. I apprehend, Sir, that we are wiser and better to-day, because mind comes in contact with mind, and heart with heart. We occupy a much higher position than we would otherwise do, if cast in the same mold and clothed in the same color. But, go to any of the homes in Harrisburg, to homes that should be happy and resonant with praise and thanksgiving to God, and if there is not praise and thanksgiving it will be found to be in most cases because of the curse of the drink. Go to any place of sorrow in our State, and probe the cause to the bottom, and you will find that the deepest pangs come from drink.

Examine your prisons: filled to overflow—your almshouses with their thousands of inmates supported by the toil of the industrious and frugal—your Refuges, public and private, for the disabled and decrepit—your Homes for the friendless children—your Asylums for men once clothed in the power and majesty of the human intellect—your asylums for the blind, the deaf, the mute, the feeble-minded—to your missionaries of the cities, who witness degradation, squalor, and wretchedness that no tongue can describe—and also to your ministers of religion who are saddened and are led to doubt their call to the holy work of saving men, when on their church rolls they find name after name, once examples of piety and usefulness, but seduced from their allegiance to God and family by the “dark beverage of hell,” they are now numbered with those of whom Holy Writ declares, “no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God”—and from these facts (a small part of the fearful catalogue) measure the cost, moral and pecuniary, of intemperance in Pennsylvania.

It is not needful to bring before you the testimony of courts, grand juries, keepers of prisons, almshouses, and asylums, or the investigations of Legislative committees or publicists, in this and other countries to prove that the criminal and dependent classes are brought to this sad condition mainly through indulgence in “the drink” supplied by our liquor laws.

The report of the Citizens Association, for 1867, on the dependent and criminal population of our commonwealth states that two-thirds of the crime and pauperism, and one-third of the dependent insane, feeble-minded, deaf mutes, blind persons and friendless, the public cost for whose maintainance was \$2,259,910.66, or \$5.80 for each voter, is the product of the sale and use of intoxicating li-

quors as a beverage. We all know these facts in the general. We do not hear them for the first time. Year after year have they existed—the remedy in great part, has been through legislation. And yet, I fear it may be said truly, as temperance men, we have deliberately, from year to year, by our direct action as voters of the Commonwealth, perpetuated this dark picture. If so, I ask you, gentlemen of the Convention, as reasonable men and patriots, if it is not time to stop and determine that so long as God gives us breath, with the new light dawning upon us, it shall never be so any more. [Applause.]

The question may be asked, why so earnest for the formation of a prohibition party in Pennsylvania? I answer, first, because I believe in the progress and development of the temperance movement, the time has fully come for such step.

And second, because I have no hope for the successful legislative suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, by or through present political parties, as at present controlled.

There was a time when this mode of action for temperance did not press upon the thoughts of temperance men, but now it “will not down” at our bidding. I may aptly quote the language of Paul on Mar’s Hill, “the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent.” With the light that has come there is a demand for corresponding action. (Renewed applause.)

Please remember our Commonwealth is theoretically a Christian State, and remember also that God has given to the people the power to make their own institutions and laws, and that if these institutions and laws are not made to subserve virtue and happiness, in the light of God’s word and dealing with men, we shall be judged therefor in this life and also in that which is to come. You will bear with me should I exceed the time limited in this debate.

I would have the temperance voters of this Commonwealth, as represented in the Convention, measure up to the standard and principles of total abstinence, and I would have them determine, so long as they believe prohibition to be the right rule, that they will no longer, directly or indirectly, vote a dram-shop ticket. [Applause.]

[The ten minutes having expired, Mr. Black was allowed to proceed.]

I know it is a difficult thing for men to separate from old ideas and party feelings, take new tack, to break away from old affiliations of home, church, or party. You all, doubtless, recollect some aversion to a removal from place to place. You know how men are prone to hold on to that which they have at present, rather than try the untried future in an untried pathway. You can understand how it is that men, earnest, good, temperance men, under the proposition now before them, will hesitate long before they will separate from their party and enter into new affiliations ; and I do not think it will be done, unless the Holy Spirit of God shall descend and write duty to others and ourselves upon the tablet of every heart. Would to God that the skies of to-day would not be of brass! How long, O God, shall this iniquitous traffic by the votes of freemen exist? I would that the Spirit of God would come upon us to-day and help us to a righteous decision. I ask for a prohibition party, not a temperance party. Please remember the distinction. We do not want, as we have no right to form a temperance party. Temperance is a question of morals and dietetics. It is an individual virtue and duty which the State, as a civil governing power, has nothing directly to do. The State, by law, cannot direct or control my tastes or desires. It may punish if in assuming to use my liberty, I interfere with the liberty or happiness of others. Temperance is only a political question as you may include, as within the term, the duty of the citizen, by his vote or political power, to remove the sanction of the State to the existence of the dram-shop, which by holding out temptation and inducing drinking becomes the chief obstruction to sobriety. But the State has the right, a legitimate right, to require that no man, by its authority and under its broad shield, shall sell that which vitiates the body and destroys the intellect of the citizen, and fosters crime and disturbance of the public peace. It is therefore a party against the dram-shop; an organization against the traffic in intoxicating drinks, that I desire the Convention to set in motion this day. Are the evils of intemperance to-day any greater than they were ten, five, three, two, or one year ago? Have the present parties in the State attempted, by the power which they wield, have they directly or indirectly done or attempted to do that which we all believe their duty to do, to relieve us from this terrible curse? Here is a party, for instance, I helped to place in power. It is in power in my city

•

to-day. It has been in power in Pennsylvania for a long time past. I ask, has there been any material effort on the part of this party having the law-making power; have they endeavored at any time to use their power for the promotion of prohibition of the traffic in any degree? No. We have met now for three years and resolved and besought, but to no purpose. They have treated all we have said as the idle wind. We have now a bill before the Legislature that represents largely the sentiment of the people of the Commonwealth. We hope it will be passed. But what assurance can we have that the men sent here, as the representatives of a political party, will pass that bill? They are not on the hill as temperance men. There is not one in the House or Senate that will be recognized to-day as a temperance representative—they are Republicans or Democrats. When I remember that as temperance voters we have successfully aided, put so many in the Legislature as Republicans or Democrats, who will not come into this Convention because their presence here might involve them in their political relations, can there be a fact, I ask, more pregnant with consideration? There are men there, who as temperance men, try to be faithful. But the parties electing them are not temperance parties. They are there as Republicans, and must obey the behests and interests of the Republican party. It was said to-day in Committee that if we were to go to our primary meetings we might correct all this. Can we do so, I ask you? Can we go to a primary election without meeting liquor? Can we go to such a place without meeting candidates who will, directly or indirectly, encourage their partisans in the patronage of the dram-shops? Then I want to know if you can vote for a candidate thus selected? You attend a primary caucus. What happens then? Why if you exercise the privilege of the primary meeting for the selection of candidates, you are bound to sustain the decision of that caucus. Some people tell me that I can go into a caucus and if I do not succeed in getting my temperance man nominated, I may vote against the nominee. Now, that is not correct morality. The rules of party are established on this idea, that I cannot take part in these primary elections except on the understanding that I abide by their decision. Am I not right? Therefore, if that preliminary ballot should happen to turn against us, are we not bound to support all the liquor men on the ticket? The primary meetings of present par-

ties consequently are closed against the man who recognizes rectitude as a principle that should govern all his political acts. We have, too, no hope even in the passage of this local prohibition bill, as I believe, though we may demonstrate it to be clearly the desire of the people. We can have no hope unless we demonstrate to the politicians that we have *votes*. A politician has told me, "You know enough to know that politicians know nothing but *votes*." I say to you, as my belief this hour, that if the temperance voters of Pennsylvania, numbering fully one hundred thousand, if all who talk temperance, were to unite, we could control the policy of this State on the liquor question, and we cannot do it until we do so unite. [Applause.] But some of our friends say we will have a very small vote. That may be true. Jesus called only one apostle first. He afterwards had twelve. How small, indeed, was the number! Yet the little influence of the one and of the twelve has reformed the whole world and brought whole nations as ripe sheaves to God's garner. [Applause.] Brethren, I would sooner be right with five companions than be wrong with five thousand. [Applause.] In every State north of the Ohio river, the temperance mind has been debating this temperance question for the last thirty or forty years, until it has come to stare all men in the face. We are asked then why was not this principle of political action for temperance understood ten years ago as it is now? I answer, because God has given us the light now that he did not permit us to have ten years ago. In 1828 the American Temperance Society was formed. It is true, that in Massachusetts, a society was formed as early as 1813. A society was organized in Monroe, New York, in 1808. It was the American Society that first organized a system of missionary labor, and which sent out that great "son of thunder," Nathaniel Hewitt. Dr. Edwards was secretary for a number of years and one of its ablest advocates. When we read his reports from 1829 to 1836, we are surprized at the clearness of thought array of fact and testimony, and demonstration of principle contained in them. Dr. John Marsh was the worthy successor of Dr. Edwards. These men are to-day, lights of the Temperance movement and the Temperance Reform in America. What, sir, was the pledge or principle adopted in 1826? It was the ardent spirit pledge. Spirits were abjured, malt and fermented liquors allowed. Some of our Temperance friends, now, are thinking more

of the reformation of one poor drunkard than of the thousands killed by drink. But, sirs, you must be radical with your remedy. You must not forget the lessons the past has taught. Weak drinks beget an appetite for strong. It was not brandy or whiskey, but it was cider or beer, on which the drunkard began his downward career. The young man soon comes to habits of intemperance. Let me instance a single fact to show how God has brought light to bear upon this question: In Boston, in the early days of the reform, the Temperance men actually erected a brewery as a temperance measure. Hon. M. Delevan and Hon. Garrit Smith, both told me a short time since that in 1829, General Smith in a speech in the State Capitol at Albany, earnestly recommended cultivation of the grape and manufacture of wine as a temperance measure. Where is the recognized Temperance man, or woman, to-day, who will say that the manufacture of wine or beer is promotive of sobriety.

In 1833, the first National Temperance Convention met and announced the immorality of the traffic in spirituous liquors.

At the second National Convention, in 1836, it was settled that "total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages was the only safe rule of temperance."

The third Convention, in 1841, decided that it was morally wrong to "license sales of alcoholic drinks."

The fourth Convention, in 1851, determined it to be the right and duty of the law making power to prohibit the manufacture and sale of such drinks.

The fifth Convention, in 1865, resolved that the cup of the Lord should be free from alcoholic poison.

The sixth Convention affirmed the duty of using the ballot for temperance.

And, the Convention held at Chicago, in September last, with great unanimity, resolved it to be the duty of temperance men to separate from present party, and form the Prohibition party for the abolition of the legalized dram shop.

Thus, we see, from 1825 to 1869, the process of investigation and reason went on. From 1833 to 1868 the temperance mind has become educated and settled in these principles and does not doubt or deny, and we have in our State Conventions again and again affirmed these principles to be true as the stars that shine

and the thunder and lightning of Sinai. We hold that if it is wrong to drink, it is wrong to sell. More than this, we have established beyond a cavil, this principle; that, if it is wrong to drink or sell, it is certainly wrong for the State to authorize persons to sell.

We thus learn that the temperance movement has been one of progressive development in principle and in action. In 1868 the National Convention, which met in Cleveland, Ohio, composed of representatives from twenty States, and from the chief denominations and all of the temperance organizations of the country, affirmed this doctrine of political action. It affirmed the position that temperance had political as well as moral duties. That doctrine is not denied here. Temperance men everywhere, now accept the doctrine of political action. There are temperance men here and elsewhere, who accepting the duty of political action, are not as yet ready for independent action; men who say that to vote temperance is right; and why? If it is wrong to manufacture and sell liquor; if it is right to pray for temperance and to preach temperance, in accordance with God's eternal laws, is it right to pray and preach temperance three hundred and sixty-four days in the year, and then go to the polls on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day and vote for candidates who from practice or affiliation will use the power given them against temperance. We who act thus practically deny and upset all that for which we have been praying and preaching? But, as I said before, it will be asserted that we will have very few friends; that our strength will be so insignificant as to bring ridicule and contempt upon the cause. I am prepared for this, and far rather suffer this, than to have the consciousness that my vote should in any degree be used to uphold the traffic, or place a stone of stumbling or a rock of offense in the way of any brother. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth the bottle to him and maketh him drunken," &c., applies not only to those engaged in the traffic but also those, who by their political influence continue to legalize the traffic. What promise have we, that by continuing as is proposed by the majority report, to act with present parties, we shall reach the end we so much desire. The minority report proposes union and directness of purpose manifested by acts as well as words. The majority propose to divide. What hope can there be when the temperance republican shall at the polls neutralize the ballot of his temper-

ance brother democrat. I call upon this convention to repudiate this policy of division and inaugurate union. It will be said again and again in this convention, that we must wait until the public mind is educated up to this standard. Ah, yes; if the stream of liquid fire that is flowing, ever flowing, would only wait, such advice might be proper. The duty of the hour is to educate, and that can be most successfully done by forming a party on the basis of prohibition. Our temperance papers are nearly all hearty supporters of this measure.

Our friends in California, are for independent party action. In Wisconsin, we have two papers—the *Northern Advance* and the *Chief* both in favor of independent party action. In Illinois, two, the *National Prohibitionist* and *Standard*, both in favor of the independent movement. In Indiana the *Independent*, the same. In Ohio, the *Era* and the *Times*, the same, and one opposed. In New York, the *Northern Independent* is in favor of an independent party. The *Patriot* is supposed to be against. I believe, however, from a recent article in that paper, that it is no longer opposed, I am not sure, though, and therefore put it down as against. The *National Advocate* may be considered as opposed, though they say they are not. You will find that even Dr. Cuyler is changing ground. He now says he expects to vote with the friends of independent action, I, however, put down the *Advocate* as opposed. The Connecticut State Temperance paper is opposed. The two papers in Massachusetts do not say one thing or the other. The *Echo*, of Maine, is decidedly in favor. In Pennsylvania how is it? In Philadelphia the *Guardian* is in favor of the independent action. Away up among the mountains, in the free air of the Alleghenies, the *Vindicator* is for independent action. [Applause.] In the city of Lancaster the *Voice of Truth* is in favor. The Northumberland county *Herald* is in favor. Opposed to the independent action is the *Keystone Good Templar*, published in Lancaster. It is the only Temperance paper in the Commonwealth that has taken a negative position on this question. I say this without intending to manifest any opposition to the paper. I have fought for it and have done my best for its success. What do we find at the head of its editorial columns? The Good Templar's Platform—the banner under which it pretends to fight. Among the editorials in its last issue I find the following :

“The extract from the address issued by the political temperance party convention, held at Chicago last September, which we give as part of an article on ‘The State Convention’ in to-day’s *Templar*, contains a single point which, perhaps, demands an answer at this time:

‘Would the friends of this ‘local option’ have it adopted in the case of theft, or of getting goods under false pretenses? Certainly not.

“We answer that, if we were a nation of thieves as we are a nation of dram drinkers and tipplers, and moderate drinkers; and if in some sections of the country the people desired to reform, quit thieving, and become honest and Christianized, then we would say by all means give them the needed legislation to make theft, or getting goods under false pretenses, odious, unlawful, and offensive, under severe penalty.

“Again, asks this Chicago political temperance party address:

‘Why, then, would they have the action of government in regard to dram selling, turn on the popular will?’

“We answer that, under our Republican form of government, *all* laws *must* ‘turn on the popular will.’ The people *will* have their own way, right or wrong, and to remove the evils of legalized dram drinking and drunkenness, we must call on, awaken and confide in the people.

“Looking upon this proposition to organize a political party, and to make and enforce law without regard to the will of the people as the greatest absurdity of the day, we will occupy no more space in attempting to answer it.”

See how blind we may become! How short-sighted our prejudices make us! The platform published at the head of this paper says “no license, *in any form or under any circumstances*, for the sale of liquors to be used as a beverage.” But, in speaking of the bill on the hill, they say that if people want liquor and will vote for it, it is right! Nay, further—if they will only vote for *thieving*, that is right, too! That system of morality finds no place in God’s book. It occupies no place, legitimately, in a temperance paper. In this respect we have the *Keystone Good Templar* standing almost, if not altogether, alone in Pennsylvania. But how does it stand with reference to the particular organization of which it professes to be the organ, *par excellence*? Gentlemen and brethren, I say that the *Keystone Good Templar* stands to-day directly opposed to the action of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and, indeed, to the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of North America. I have looked in this paper for the action of the Right Worthy Grand

Lodge at its last session at Oswego, which inaugurated this party movement ; but it has not appeared. Thus, because the editor's mind is not yet convinced, or because it does not suit the convenience of the party to which he is attached, he opposes the action of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and of the Nation. I do not say this by way of attack upon the paper. I speak of this inconsistency only as an evidence of blindness. I quote it as one of the difficulties with which we must expect to contend and which we must overcome. We want this local prohibition bill. We have said so in our action to-day, and also by petitions innumerable. How are we to get it? Only by demonstrating that, if we do not get it by our petitions, we will take the power out of the hands of our present law-givers. [Applause.] In the next place, should we get the bill, we shall want it put into action. Was there ever a temperance law that executed itself? Do you think that, simply because we have an enactment upon our statute books, all dram-sellers will stop dram-selling, and all dram-drinkers stop dram-buying? Do you suppose that when such a law is enacted, that at that moment all appetite for stimulants, all desire for money begotten by the sale of strong drink, will pass away? Oh, no sirs! Do not let us deceive ourselves in that way. There are old men here, who have fought in the temperance ranks since their boyhood. Let me call their attention to the act of 1846 in Pennsylvania, and to similar statutes passed in New York and Massachusetts. It was supposed that the moment the law was enacted, it would be obeyed. In New York there was fifty thousand majority against license. So in Massachusetts. So in seventeen townships in Pennsylvania. But turn to the records and you will find that because the temperance men had no organization and because they thought the moment the law passed they had nothing further to do, the law was repealed the very next year! Remember our jug law of 1855. Do you not remember how it was overthrown the following year because there was no political power to back it, and no friendly magistrates or officers to enforce it. The law of 1855 was repealed in the face of conscience and in the face of God, because the liquor-league of Pennsylvania, by spending one hundred thousand dollars, sent men to the Legislature to overturn it. If we mean temperance legislation that will have vim in it, then, we must organize to fight the battle of truth against error, of righteousness against sin ; and so long as man is prone

to sin, so long we must fight this battle. The Church of Jesus Christ must never lay her armor down. I have wearied you. There are other considerations I would like to present. I believe that if we want a thing done we must have the proper instruments with which to do it. If I want a building erected, I must have the proper persons to do the work; men accustomed to that particular branch of labor. If I want a deed of conveyance, I must have one versed in the business of conveyancing. When we resolved to nominate the gallant Fremont, the path finder, we resolved that not a foot of territory should be cursed by slavery. If we are Republicans we must have certain men elected to carry out our policy. So it is with Temperance. We must have temperance legislators to enact, and temperance officers to enforce, temperance laws. Is Temperance a living reality? Do we desire to protect our homes? Do we desire to preserve our children from going down the pathway of the terrible gulf of intemperance? Devils dragging them down, and down, and down, one after another? Oh, sirs! do not say we have our Sabbath-schools. But we know they are losing power day by day. We know, too, what is counteracting all our moral movements. What aim, or object, or ambition, I ask, can correspond with ours? I suppose, sir, some brother of power, eloquence, and ability, will take the floor and say that the Temperance party is a party of one idea. Yes, sir! I say it is a party of one idea. Jesus Christ had but one idea—the salvation of men. The Crusaders in driving the Saracens from Europe had but one idea. The rebellion against the Government was possessed of but one idea. Clustering around *this* question is the one great idea—the destruction of the dram-shop, and the emancipation and preservation of thousands from the drink curse. And it is a grand idea. [Applause.] Associated with this idea, may be views upon labor, upon tariff, upon the State and National finances, economy, reform, etc. But here let us start out with one grand idea—the abolition of the dram-shop and the purification of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Edwin Booth, of Philadelphia—Mr. President: As a member of the committee appointed by resolution to-day, to wait upon the Governor, and invite him to attend upon the sessions of this Convention, I have the honor to report that the committee visited the Governor, and were received very kindly. His Excellency assured us that his heart was with us. [Applause.] He was ex-

ceedingly busy this evening, but if it would please the Convention and public business would permit, he would be happy to wait upon the Convention to-morrow at twelve o'clock. [Applause.]

Mr. Flavel moved that the report be accepted and the committee discharged. Agreed to.

Mr. E. H. Rauch, of Lancaster—Mr. President: I may in my remarks, go beyond ten minutes, but perhaps not so long. I feel called upon, for sufficient reasons, to take the floor at this time; but I will try not to weary you. I will make no reply in regard to newspaper assaults. My paper I prefer to let speak for itself. It is the boast of printing ink that it can talk for itself. I am aware that it is very difficult to follow a gentleman so long and so favorably known, and whose heart is so earnestly in the work, as Mr. Black. But, I want gentlemen to remember that eloquent and passionate appeals are not argument. The greater part of his speech has been on points upon which there is no controversy among temperance men. There is no issue raised in this Convention by almost anything the gentleman has said. He has, I might say with truth, carefully avoided the main issue before this Convention. He has rather relied upon his appeals to the sympathies of his audience. The question, however, is a very simple one. We know all the evils of intemperance. The only question, here and now, is, what is the proper mode of procedure in our efforts to secure that for which we are so earnestly fighting. What, in fact, is the real issue at this moment? Let the truth be known. I say, sir, that the question is whether this Convention assembled here to-night, shall in good faith support the bill now pending in the Legislature, or give it its death blow by our own hands. The gentleman, who addressed you just now, is an advocate of the Chicago Convention. And by its fruits let us judge of that Convention. I shall read a very short extract from the officially reported proceedings of that Convention, and we will see how we like it in connection with the honest efforts of Temperance men in Pennsylvania to induce the Legislature to give us a law allowing us to vote directly for or against intemperance. I read from the address adopted at that Convention:

“Just here, where we have been speaking of the high and sacred mission of government, is the place to enter *our most earnest and solemn protest against the scheme called “local option”—the scheme*

for government allowing the dram-shop in those localities which like it, and disallowing it in those localities which do not like it. Would the friends of this "local option" have it adopted in the case of theft, or of getting goods under false pretenses? Certainly not. They would have government forbid these offenses everywhere, and entirely irrespective of the popular choice anywhere. Why, then, would they have action of government in regard to dram-selling, turn on the popular will?

Now, sir, I respectfully submit, that in this country, in this great Republic of America, no matter whether it is right or wrong, the people *will* rule. Neither Mr. Black, nor any other member of this Convention, can prevent them. And if we do not propose to abide by the decision of the majority at the ballot-box, we may as well abandon our system of free government. I repeat, right or wrong the people are going to rule this as all other public questions. They are bound to do it, and they will do it on all occasions. If there is no way to reach their understanding—if we cannot capture the popular ear—the majority, as before, *will* rule. Then I say God help us! There is no use in placing laws upon our statute books that will not be obeyed by the people. With remarkable unanimity the Committee on Vice and Immorality have reported the bill giving us an opportunity of ending the evil traffic in our respective communities. Petitions have come in for this enactment, as no subject has been petitioned for in the last twenty or thirty years. I believe, too, that under the Providence of God this bill will be passed—but only if we act the part of cool, resolute and deliberate men, showing to all the world that we mean and feel what we ask for. When we emphatically declare in our petitions for the passage of this law that we hope to keep this question out of the arena of partizan politics, shall we stultify ourselves by saying that the labor, that all the legal ability, bestowed by my friend from Lancaster [Mr. Black] to meet the exigency; that all the strong manly feelings and wishes of our friends throughout the State are all fallacious and in vain? I repeat again, let us not allow our feelings of sympathy, of admiration, if you please, for that man, drag us into precipitate action against our solemn judgments. I believe that he is radically wrong. When I want a Temperance instructor to guide me in my social duties, to impart a high moral standard of conduct and personal behavior, to acquaint me of the effects of

alcoholic drink in all its aspects, I shall go to brother Black. He is one of the best temperance men in the State. But it does not follow that because Mr. Black is a true friend of the cause, that his judgment is beyond fault, for we know that he, as well as the rest of us, may be wrong in policy. Let not the sympathy, but the judgment, of every right-minded man in this room govern us. It is not in the province of any distinctive political party to carry on this reform. I confess I am an humble member of one of the prominent parties of the day; and of that party I am proud. It is the party which during the last three years has, under God, been capable of breaking the chains of four millions of slaves. It went to the front when the fate of the nation was at stake and freely laid down thousands of lives that the nation might live, and then crowned its glory with the Fifteenth Amendment. [Applause.] I say, sir, that that party is ready to-day to grasp the next subject of reform, and when it is found wanting it will be time enough for us to strike out in a new path, and scramble in the dark. I deny that this party is incapable of performing its duties under Providence. I believe it retains enough of the character of genius and of the progressive spirit to grasp the next subject of State and National importance. And this is the subject. [Applause.] The question of Temperance is going to be the next great subject before the American people. We, as a nation, are not idlers. Our people have not had a breathing spell after great exertion. They have rested themselves. They are now ready for some other grand movement; and I tell you that those who flatter themselves that this great question is going to lie idle are greatly mistaken.

[The ten minutes having expired, a delegate moved that the Speaker be allowed to proceed.]

Mr. Rauch—I have no desire to proceed further.

[The motion, extending the time, was carried.]

Mr. Rauch—Mr. President and gentlemen, I thank you for the courtesy extended to me. Much as I would like to speak longer, consistency forbids my doing so, and I can only hope that my example will be followed. [Applause].

Mr. J. R. Sypher, of Philadelphia.—If it is possible, Mr. President, I will endeavor to inform this Convention what really is before us. The resolution reported by the majority of the Committee on Business allows our selection of officers co-operating with

existing political parties for the execution of the law, or the establishment of independent organizations, as may be most expedient. The substitute for that resolution declares in favor of an independent prohibitory party. Now, sir, the question before this Convention is neither one touching the evils of intemperance and the benefits of temperance reform, nor is it one which in the least affects the bill before the Legislature. I regret that the gentleman, who just preceded me, should make that mistake. With the exception of two dissenting votes, this Convention stands pledged for bill No. 166. That question, then, cannot be before the convention. Neither the majority nor the minority report of the Business Committee affects the bill before the House of Representatives. That bill may be regarded as embracing the fixed and established policy of the temperance men of Pennsylvania. The real issue before us is, whether we shall carry out this local-option principle by cooperation with present political parties, and thus enforce the law when it shall be placed upon our statute books, or whether for this purpose, or for further aggressive action, we shall establish independent political parties throughout the State. The majority report provides that in those counties in which it is practicable to co-operate with existing parties, there our action shall be within the line of present political affinities. But where in any county, in the judgment of the temperance men, such action, resulting in success to the temperance cause, would be impossible, then our friends in such localities are ready and at liberty to establish independent political organizations to obtain the desired result. That is, inside if possible, outside if we must.* And now, one word in history. I have the highest respect for the chairman of this committee. I regard him as on the picket line of the advance. It is not the province of the true soldier to disparage picket duty. Last year a resolution was reported by the committee which was spurned by the Convention then; but that same resolution will now be adopted. The army then stood four or five leagues behind the picket line. I thank God that we have since advanced. We are marching forward. Through this local-option law many of our friends will obtain a favorable response from the people. Then it is barely possible that in another year the whole army will stand where the picket line stands to-day. We have had a discussion, I trust the representatives on the hill will give us this enactment,

and when it becomes a law, we pledge ourselves to stand by it, within existing parties if we can, but outside if we must. [Applause.]

And of this decision we bid politicians take warning. If the great political party of the day—the Republican party of America—now stops short and fears to advance, then a new party will assuredly take its place. Our march is onward. Revolutions never go backward. This question is going forward and will never recede. But until our magistrates, our judges, our courts, and our police departments are chosen with a view to the full execution and enforcement of the law, no law upon our statute books will accomplish the end desired.

Mr. Pennel Coombs, of Philadelphia.—I propose alluding distinctly to the principle announced in the substitute. That resolution states but one point and advocates but one policy: and that is, that from the present moment this temperance convention adopts, and the temperance men of Pennsylvania are to carry out, the measure of proceeding to organize a separate, distinct, and independent party, with a platform, the essential principle of which shall be prohibition of the liquor traffic and the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage—leaving all questions of expediency out of sight, and resolving that we have made no mistakes and to that point stick, sink or swim, live or die. Now, to that I am opposed. Let me refer to history. We have several States in which prohibitory laws have been passed and enforced. But let Mr. Black put his finger upon a single case where a prohibitory law has been passed by an independent party.

Mr. Black.—The circumstances now are entirely different from those under which the prohibitory laws of the New England States, Michigan, and Iowa were passed. They were not political issues then or there. But to-day, owing to the strong foreign element introduced amongst us, it has become an element in the politics of existing parties.

Mr. Coombs. —In the State of Maine, this question was made a distinct political issue. One party put license on their banners, the other prohibition; and the question was carried before the people on a distinct issue. In regard to the circumstances, I desire to say that there never were such circumstances as now surround us. We are on the very eve of a breaking up of parties. Old

political issues are dead. As Mr. Black said himself in committee, there really is no substantial issue between the parties at the present time. New issues must soon take the place of the old. In a brief time there will be entirely different issues before the American people. I want to state that the leading politicians on both sides of this question cannot fail to see that the next great issue in this country must be the temperance question, and the political parties cannot longer ignore it. Why, sir, the present political parties are even now on the eve of political dissolution and reconstruction. The liquor men have already organized themselves into a distinct political combination. There are whisky rings in Chicago in New York, in Philadelphia, in Washington—in fact in every city, in every borough of every State in the Union. The liquor army, sir, is organized in two grand divisions. There is the whisky ring, which permeates every avenue of legislation, here and at Washington. Then the beer men have organized themselves into a party called the Brewer's Congress. They too, have organized in every State and in every county in this State. Then, there is still another element with which we must contend. The Infidels intend to overthrow the American Sabbath. The Germans say to the infidels, if you will help to break down the temperance movement, we, the Germans, will aid you infidels in breaking down the American Sabbath. And if this will not do, they say they will start a liberty party and smash all the political machinery of the nation.

The liquor party have sworn by whisky and lager that they will force this question upon the people. Is there then an existing political party that will deliberately knock their brains out by the advocacy of the liquor league? Strike out slavery and substitute whisky and you have the history of temperance as well as of abolition. Who killed slavery? Was it the Republican party? The Free Soil party? I voted for the path-finder. Was it that party that killed slavery? If there is any body here that believes that, I have not got an argument, I suppose, strong enough to penetrate that idea. But slavery killed itself by bolting from the political parties, just as we will kill ourselves, if we set up for ourselves. [Applause.]

It was by changing the regular course of political machinery that the slaveholders of the South died of a little political disease

called slavery. Shall we, just at the time the present political combinations are about to be dissolved——

The Chair here checked the gentleman, the ten minutes having expired.

A delegate moved that he be allowed to proceed.

Agreed to.

Mr. Coombe.—I won't keep you as long as Mr. Black. At the very time when Providence seems to have brought us right at the very door of delivery, shall we draw a knife across our throats and cut both sides of the jugular vein? Mr. Black sits in his office and reads his papers. He quotes to us largely from temperance periodicals in support of the independent party movement. Who edit our temperance papers?—men who never did and never could understand American politics. The gentleman from Lancaster, Mr. Rauch, writes as he does, because he understands politics better than Mr. Black. While Mr. Black has been sitting in his library I have been passing through the State—over the mountains and through the valleys of Pennsylvania. I have been mixing and mingling with the free warm-hearted laboring men of the temperance party of Pennsylvania. I have been through thirty-nine temperance counties in Pennsylvania, and what do they say? I am here to convey their earnest expression, that if you set an independent political machine in motion, your whole cause will stop just when you do so. You might as well throw a log three feet thick across the track of a railway train. There would even be one advantage in such a procedure—you would at least have a clear track. But by this suicidal policy you will not. I have passed through twenty-two towns and villages. How many of them are under the control of rum? But four. The other eighteen are clear of the business and the traffic is outlawed within their limits. How was this state of affairs brought about? By fighting for it through present existing parties; not by any independent movement. In these very towns, gentlemen ask me if there is to be an independent party, and tell me that if so, there is an end of the cause. We are advancing—gradually, to be sure—but if you start a political party, you will have both the other parties to fight, and you will assuredly go down. There is no hope for you. I labored for the Republican party, but in Alleghany county, I worked against it last fall. It is not a bit better than it

ought to be. In some counties it is the liquor party. In Alleghany county it was sold out, body and breeches to the liquor interest, with its nine thousand majority. When we found how we were situated, but not until then, we put up an independent ticket and broke the back of the whisky ring. But Mr. Black's resolution would have set us to establishing an independent party organization, with nominations complete, and where would we have been?

Mr. President, I am somewhat like the colored man, who was very much afraid of explosions. He was asked which of the two horns of the dilemma he would prefer—being blown up on land or on sea? After scratching his head a moment or two, he answered: on land. Why? Because, sir, said he, if you are blown up on land, you are somewhere, but if you are blown up on sea, where are you? [Laughter and applause.]

Now, if we adopt the local option law, we are somewhere. But if we adopt the independent party movement, we are at sea without compass, rudder, or ballast. Then where are we? [Laughter.] In Alleghany county, the Republican party sold itself to the whisky ring and we beat them. But how about your independent party in Philadelphia? [Laughter and applause.] There is simply an impossibility in this thing. Start it. Try it. And it will be a much more miserable failure than it was in Philadelphia, [Applause.] But go ahead under the plan suggested in the majority report, and it will be all right. I do not object to voting and working on this question. I go first, so far as general organization is concerned, for the development of the public mind. I should adopt General Grant's policy. He said, "I have no policy except the policy of the people." We are just now awaiting developments. If either one or both of the political parties should ignore this question, here is my heart and my hand, Mr. Black, for a square up independent party. If the Democratic party arrays itself against us, let us fight it. [Applause.] If the Republican party ranges itself against us, we can wage war against it also. Let us carry on the good work as we have been carrying it on to the present time. When we have the chance to better the cause by a local-option law, let us take it. If we adopt this one idea policy, we will have no local-option law—in fact, no string to our bow. By adopting the majority report we have two strings to our bow.

Mr. B. R. Bradford, of Beaver, I voted for the majority report in committee, believing that this Convention is composed of reflecting minds; of men and women who understand the subject of temperance as we should all understand it. It is a very simple question. Connected with this subject the plan proposed in the majority report is a practical one. What do the people of this sovereign State of Pennsylvania desire? Most assuredly something that is practical in its character. We wish to convince every moralist, every Christian man and woman that something must be done to break down intemperance. It is a progressive work, as has been justly said here. Let us look, then, from a practical point of view at the question presented to us. The substitute for the majority contemplates simply the formation of a political party of prohibition. Now, so far as respects the intelligence of the people of Pennsylvania, and for the weal of our common cause, we must make such a venture a success beyond a question or a doubt. Will any reflecting mind in this Convention say that the majority of the people of Pennsylvania are ready for this issue? I think the gentleman who has passed through Western Pennsylvania has justly stated the question as it rests in the minds of the people of that section. I see the same spirit in the Northern, Southern, and Eastern portions of Pennsylvania, and if every man could speak here to-day, he would utter the sentiment of the gentleman who has just taken his seat. Our duty, it seems to us, is clear. The necessity is forced upon us, that we must act with the parties with whom we have affiliated. And what, indeed, has not the great Republican party done? Has not that party, in its history, taken up all the questions of progress? Did it not say that slavery should be abolished? And did it not, through him who was sacrificed for the people, accomplish that glorious work? We have to thank God that the day has at last arrived when we are a nation of freemen. And what is the great question before us now? Shall we say to the reflecting, progressive minds of Pennsylvania, you must form a new party? I trust, sir, that this Convention is not going to cut the throats of the temperance men of the State by dictating independent action. Let our reflective minds operate in the respective parties to which we belong. When they refuse to listen to reason, then the time will have arrived for us to throw off our allegiance and fight alone. But not till then. Let us not, I

pray, be unmindful of the dangers, too, attending party organizations. We can read the future only by the past. In 1846 and '48 the great American party was started. We all know the history of that party. It was at first pure and unsullied. But in time designing men crept in and crushed its true interests by their corrupt use of its organization. The history of that party is the history of every party. Now we stand upon broad principles. We desire to act under the guidance of the Great I Am, who says I am the sovereign ruler of the universe; I have the hearts of all in my hands, and I can move them to my will.' Let us, gentlemen trust to the majority report, and we will receive the Divine support.

Dr. Nevin, of Lancaster.—This question, sir, ought to be looked at on both sides very candidly. My mind has been much impressed with all that has been said. If we could occupy Mr. Black's standpoint, we should attach much importance to what he has told us, One gentleman has asserted that the Republican party is the great moral party of the country, which has accomplished so much for the nation; another has asserted that it is not. One says it abolished slavery in the United States and made us a nation of freemen; another says it did not. Well, I have not as yet heard what the Democratic party has or has not done, and this question suggests itself to me: If the Republican party abolished slavery, was it not a third party? Out of the elements of the Whig and Democratic parties came the Republican party. God never allowed either of the old party organizations to do anything, until this new party was formed. When God almighty has permitted one party to do one great thing, it rarely ever does another. They take a long time to congratulate themselves over the accomplishment of one good and great deed. They seem then to have nothing to do but to lay back, take their ease in the contemplation of the glory of the past, and enjoy the revenues of the nation. [Laughter and applause.] One gentleman says the parties are going to pieces. He would reconstruct them. Now, that is just what we propose to do. What he means by reconstruction is, that the elements of both parties will scatter; that men are going to change their party affiliations. There are, however, as yet but two parties—the Democratic and the Republican. It is in the order of God's providence that we must have pickets. The army generally does pretty

much as the pickets say. If, therefore, Brother Black reports something from the advanced line, what are we, the army to do? [Applause.] Another point has occurred to my mind. The arguments uttered here against independent action, I have heard for thirty years. The cry is, you will kill yourselves! But I say, sir, there is such a thing as renewal and resurrection. [Applause.] An Irishman on building his house, laid the foundation three feet high and four feet wide. Somebody asked the reason for this strange freak. His reply was, "Shure, an' if it turns over it will be onc foot higher!" [Laughter.] They were always killing the Republican party. I believe, with Salmon P. Chase, that you have got to address the consciences of the people. They told us that the Republican party would die. Well, sir, if it did die, it had a glorious resurrection. We may be killed here to-night by God, for a grand purpose. How long have the present political parties been in existence, and how much have they done for us? Not a particle since I was a boy. I actually believe there is more drinking to-day than there was then. With all the talk and the preaching and praying, parties stand now in pretty much the same position with respect to this question as they then stood. Yet of all the questions that have ever been presented to us there is not one which transcends this question in solemnity and importance. When we look at the question of tariff, of finance, of revenue, or any other question, they all dwindle into nothing in comparison with that of temperance. To-day, white wasted hands are stretched up to us, and pale wan faces appeal to us for relief, and where are they to get it? Some say that it is possible we may get a bill allowing the people to say this or that. Perhaps we may obtain it, though I doubt if we will. But, anyhow, it does not belong to the American people to decide one way or the other on so momentous a question, involving the lives and happiness of so many homes filled with human beings. I was led to believe that the temperance millennium would come in 1868. But I have passed 1868 and 1869, and have reached 1870, and I have seen more drunkenness from the windows of railway cars, in our hotels, restaurants, taverns, and other places, than I ever saw before. I have seen more drunkenness among husbands and wives and children, than I ever saw before. I have seen more misery in families than I ever saw before. Yet we have never had the moral courage to make our

party independent! The Republican party never got power until it supported the laws of God. It was the idea of justice that awakened that party to action, that gave it life and strength, when it sprang into reality to accomplish a work God intended it to do. God Almighty will damn any party that will strike out justice from its platform. Whenever we put justice into our battles God fought with us. Whenever we struck justice from our banners God was against us. What a nation of slaves we are! How many are bound all over the land, hand and foot, with the worst moral and physical fetters!. And where is the party to touch them? I will tell you what I think. Let there be a party rising up in the eternal providence of God, clinging to their organization with prayer and earnest zeal, and you will strike terror into the army of our opponents. And then we will secure both parties, many of whom will come over to us, if for no other reason than their ambition for political position. The prayers of the afflicted wife, the widow, and the orphan, will encircle us as our forces are marshaled, and then, under the light of the pillar of fire by night and the pillar of cloud by day, we will march forward to victory! [Long continued applause.”]

Mr. H. W. Olmsted, of Potter—The question, I imagine, is not one of principle, but one of policy—policy founded, to be sure, upon the morality of the subject. We may determine upon the right thing, but there is also a right way of carrying it out. What is it proper for us, as Temperance men, considering the enormity of the crime of intemperance, conceding that it is our greatest enemy,—what is the proper course for us to pursue? What course do we pursue with reference to any measure for the prevention of crime? Were our laws against crime passed by organizing a party on that issue? Never! I will venture to say that nothing now upon our statute books, founded in morality, was ever adopted by party organization. The Republican party abolished slavery as a matter of stern necessity, and now it will be a matter of stern necessity for prohibition. How, then, are we going to get at it? By instructing our people from the pulpit, in our common schools, by lectures, and by every other plan calculated to catch the public ear, and reach the public understanding. Let the truth be spread far and wide. When existing parties cannot hold together any longer, and the enormity of the traffic in intoxicating drinks is seen,

then we will carry our principles to a triumphant issue—not before. Let us suppose our opponents establish a third party on the basis of the sale and use of rum. What then? I tell you that just so soon as they do that, we will have a prohibitory law upon our statute books. In eighteen months after such foolish action on their part, we will have prohibition in every State of the Union. Can we not then control at least one political party? Or rather, can we not then control them both? This threatened formation of a distinctive liquor party is simply an absurdity. I believe it is beautiful to stand up to the question and say I am right here on this subject! There is something about such a position a little taking—it looks noble and manly. But when we shut our eyes to everything else, and say we will ignore everything else, except one particular idea, I tell you you will never accomplish this thing. One objection I have to the formation of a third party by the temperance men is, that it will divide the friends of temperance themselves. We may be thoroughly impressed with the importance of this question; but we never will be able to impress all others like ourselves. Many will separate from us. They will look at other issues and be more impressed with their importance, and the necessity of meeting them. In short, we cannot move the temperance people in this country to the formation of a separate party, independent of all other questions. There are questions now at issue between the two great parties of the country. There always have been. There always will be. Otherwise there would be no great and permanent national parties. Now, in the name of common sense, can not we comprehend the importance of these facts? Cannot we so act as to do one thing and not leave the other undone? That, I think, is practical, sound, common sense. I think we can so act as to be efficient in this cause, and at the same time not shut our eyes to any other question. In the county from which I hail we have been able to maintain this question of prohibition for nineteen years, triumphantly. Can not other counties come in step by step, county by county, until the whole State is arrayed on our side. There is now more being done in our Sabbath schools, in our churches, and by all the other instrumentalities within our reach, than ever before, in behalf of temperance. Every once in a while there is another and another step taken in the right direction.

Mr. M. Brosius, of Lancaster, I want to add one word to this discussion. The gentleman says there is something beautiful in standing up for the right. That was well said, and it is adaptable to any cause. It is just as beautiful to see one man standing up for the right as another. We, who are opposed to this third party movement, are opposed to it conscientiously. We trust, in the fear of God, that we are in the right. We are not here for the purpose of opposing the efforts of this convention. We are here to promote the cause of temperance. We do not differ as to the end to be accomplished, but only as to the means to be used. Now, it remains for us to show by argument or persuasion that our plan is right. We want to adopt the most efficient method. What is that method? For that which is the most efficient is the right method. If a plan does not show the elements of success, I think you will not adopt that plan. That plan which is the most fitting one is the one we ought to harmonize upon. The plan of the minority report does not contain within itself the elements of success. It contains nothing but defeat and disaster to this great movement. [Applause.]

We have in our commonwealth a strong sentiment adverse to this independent party movement. We have a party almost a unit against temperance legislation. We have also a party, which if you take from it the element in sympathy with us, you leave just strong enough to be defeated by the party almost a unit against us. Now then, the party of morality, virtue, and temperance advocated here would be defeated by the weakness of the men who espoused it. Put the temperance party of the country in flames, and when you do that you are striking a blow at the principle you pretend to promote. Men hang on to their party as they do to their religion. You know there is a large proportion of the Republican party who believe in the temperance movement. But they deem it inconsistent for them to cut off from their party. This measure would debar them from acting with us. We ought to pursue the course that will commend itself to the temperance men throughout the commonwealth, and the prudence and sagacity of the temperance men here ought to be commensurate with the exigencies of the case, having in view only our final success. Permit me to reply to a remark of the gentleman from Lancaster. [Mr. Nevin.] He made an assertion—a drop of poison—which

should not have been uttered in this Convention. It must not be said or thought that we have not accomplished anything in this reform. When that gentleman was a boy they had at almost every place he stopped in the country the intoxicating bowl upon the side-board, and they drank their social glass in the house. That explains why so many ministers died drunkards. Where is the minister who now drinks?

Mr. Black.—There are plenty of them.

Mr. Brosius.—Well, I know of a few exceptions. But I know, too, that the mass, the body of the ministry of to-day are with us. I know that but a few years ago at every wedding they would have the liquid fire dealt out to the company. I know that in every social assembly it was common. To-day it is the exception, not the rule. And to-day the President of the United States—and a glorious one he is! [Applause.]—the Governor of the Commonwealth, and the Speakers of the Senate of the United States and of Pennsylvania, are members of the Temperance organization. [Applause.] We had a Congress, when our land was cursed with rebellion that had the bravery to strike out liquor from the allowance to our gallant tars, and then we had a sober navy. [Applause.] Then, too, we had a Farragut who would not give his boys liquor. After he gave them coffee he mounted to the masthead and you know what he did there! [Applause.] If you adopt this new measure, I wish I could paint the picture of your future. I would paint the picture that men and women might see the fate awaiting them in two years and avoid it now. Here are two great political parties struggling for the mastery. You know how corruption communicates from one party to the other. This very party of virtue, of morality, and of temperance would resort to corrupt means to command success. Designing men, trained in the corrupt school of American politics, will command this party. I sympathize with the sentiment that this party is a party of progress. I stand before you the representative, and the only representative, of the northern county of Tioga—the strongest Republican county in this commonwealth, and the strongest temperance county in this commonwealth. There is not a dram shop within its borders. The Republican party there have abolished the traffic in liquor. It is that party that has lifted our nation to justice; that has lifted men to manhood; that has relieved our nation from the ravages

of fire and sword; and it is that party, if we treat it rightly in conjunction with the moral and Christian feeling and sentiment of the State, that will emancipate our people from this terrible bondage and lift this crushing burden from the agonizing souls of millions. Our people stand erect, free, and proud, their manhood redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by a good sound public sentiment in a good sound Republican party. [Applause.]

Having consummated one object, that party is ready for another equally glorious. But if we organize this independent party, we will be powerless, except we go back to the party which we were stupidly instrumental in breaking up. I believe there are now more temperance men on the hill than ever before. Adopt this third party movement, and at the end of two years these men will be obliged to leave their seats. If we have this independent party, we will have a Legislature against us; the whisky ring will be triumphant and wield its sceptre with rebutless inhumanity, corruption and deception; their flaunting robes will be spread abroad in our State and inundate our Commonwealth with crime and sin and licentiousness, and then we will realize that the hands that may have built this new temple ignorantly have been lifted against this dearest reform. *My* hand shall put not a stone in that temple that falling shall crush the dearest hopes of our land. [Long continued applause.] Their plan does not contain the elements of success. Let them convince us that it does. I know that our esteemed brother, Mr. Black, is conscientiously wrong in this matter—wrong, wrong, wrong! I trust you will not let his zeal and his appeals to your manly nature govern you. Rather let him appeal to your understanding. You know that Martin Luther believed that he absolutely threw his pillow at his Satanic Majesty. I believe he thinks he is doing right; but I believe his plan is fundamentally wrong, and is fraught with defeat, ruin, and disaster. [Applause.]

Mr. Hicks—I have listened with a great deal of pleasure and benefit to the arguments advanced on both sides of this question. I am here as earnestly seeking for truth as any temperance man in this Convention, and it is because I believe myself right that I stand here to-night to advocate the passage of the minority report. I propose briefly to look at the arguments urged by the friends of the majority report opposing the minority.

Mr. Black.—We have now reached 10 o'clock, The debate has been very interesting. It concerns the future of many, many thousands of human beings. All sides have thus far had a fair representation. I move you, therefore, that this Convention adjourn to meet to-morrow morning at nine and a half o'clock. The State Temperance Union meets at eight, and their business will probably occupy them for an hour or so. I move we adjourn.

Mr. Hicks.—I have no objection provided I have the floor at the opening of the Convention to-morrow morning.

The Chair.—Yes, sir.

Mr. Black's motion was agreed to and the Convention adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

The State Temperance Convention re-assembled in the Court House at half-past nine o'clock, A. M., Wednesday February 9, 1870, and was called to order by the President.

Rev. P. R. Jones led in prayer.

Mr. George E. Wagner, of Philadelphia, moved that the reading of the minutes of yesterday be dispensed with.

Agreed to.

Gen. Robert L. Bodine of Philadelphia.—Mr. President.—I desire to say that at half-past ten o'clock I shall call the previous question on the resolution before the Convention. Many members wish to leave on the noon trains, and it is in their behalf that I desire to close the discussion at the hour I have named. I want to give due notice, so that all may govern themselves and their speeches accordingly.

Mr. Hicks—I enter upon the discussion of this question this morning feeling its importance and deep significance. Perhaps no question ever agitated a State Convention as important as the one now before us. It should be met carefully, deliberately, and generously on the part of both parties at this time. If I understand this question aright, sir, it means this: Whether we are, or are not, ready to say to the temperance people of the State of Pennsylvania, we want you to unite your votes for the purpose of destroying the liquor traffic. It sums itself up in that—whether our love for the temperance cause is so great that we are willing to make all

and every personal sacrifice for the accomplishment of that great end. This is my position. I stand here to-day, sir, to say that I am willing to make every personal sacrifice for the destruction of the rum traffic in the State of Pennsylvania. [Applause.] I take it, from the discussion on both sides, that this question means that, if anything. We are led to believe, from the expressions of those opposed to a distinct party, that they are willing to see the temperance men united so that they may cast their votes solidly for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages. Notwithstanding that is the sentiment of those who oppose this third party measure, they are leading politicians in the Republican party. [Applause.] This is a fact worthy of note. By that I do not mean that men stand up here to misrepresent themselves, or utter sentiments in which they do not believe. But it is an evidence that party ties are so strong that they cannot come into a temperance convention and vote for an independent party. [Applause.] So strong is this party feeling that one delegate was met by another on the street this morning with this question: "Where do you stand? Are you in favor of this third party resolution?" "Yes, sir," was the answer. "Then you shall not be any longer President of the Republican Club in our ward," was the rejoinder.

A Delegate—I rise to a point of order. Has the gentleman a right to impugn men's motives? Shall we bring leading, designing, political men into this discussion?

The Chair—The gentleman will confine himself strictly to the question.

Mr. Hicks—I should like to know if I was not confining myself to the question?

The Chair—The gentleman will proceed. The Chair will confess he was not paying very strict attention to what was said. [Laughter.]

Mr. Hicks—To look at this question right, let us first ascertain what is the object of this State Convention as expressed by the utterances of those who have thus far occupied the floor. It is that we want the sale of intoxicating liquors abolished through the law. The only way is through the law. The only way to obtain the law is by electing legislators who will enact the law. The only way to have the law executed is by electing officers who will enforce it. To this you will all agree. [A voice—"No!"] I re-

peat that the only proper way is to elect to the legislature such men as favor such laws. Now we can not elect men who favor the passage of such laws unless the parties through which they are elected are pledged to the passage of those laws. We have heard a great deal said here about a Republican party. Very little about a Democratic party. Now, I say that the Democratic and Republican parties are both bound hand and foot to the liquor interest. Go to their party conventions and ask them for a resolution against the liquor traffic and you will be pooh-poohed by both of them. If you are to derive any benefit, or reap any advantage you must do it outside of the two parties. What say the opponents of this measure? "Use your influence in your own political party, and if your influence is sufficient, control it. It may be the Democratic party. It may be the Republican party. Seek to control them in the primary meetings." So we are told by our opponents. I am surprised that the intelligence of this Convention cannot see the sophistry of this proposition. Divide your forces and you will never gain success. The fact is that the temperance men of this State are to be found in both parties.

The ten minutes having expired, a delegate moved that the gentleman be allowed to proceed.

Agreed to.—Yeas, 60. Nays, 45.

Mr. Hicks—I thank the Convention for their kindness. This question is an important one, and I could not express what I wanted to say in the short time allowed me. I have nothing to expect from either political party. If we accomplish anything it must be through separate and distinct party organization. The next question is as to time. I am as careful as any one else is. I do not want to unfurl our flag to the breeze before we are able to man our craft. I objected to the local option bill; but since the Convention has favored it I will do what I can for it. How are we going to accomplish the desired object if this bill becomes a law? Suppose the people on the hill give us this law, how are we going to carry it out without organization? We inaugurate this third party for the very purpose of accomplishing the work that the law will give us the opportunity of accomplishing. We need this separate organization for the very purpose of placing us in a position to enforce the bill we want passed.

Here, then, is the rallying point. We must carry this law into.

execution. Supposing, however, on the other hand, that the Legislature will refuse to grant us this law? Still, without organization we can do nothing. We will be as far, if not further behind, than ever before. With organization we can rebuke this Legislature for not doing right. It does not make it absolutely necessary that we should enter at once upon the organization of this third party. We do not propose that it shall be done now, nor even next week, or next month. Nor do I presume that the men who make up this third party movement will entirely co-operate with us throughout the State. There are portions of the Commonwealth where it is only necessary for the temperance men of the locality to co-operate to make the temperance movement there a success. It is only where we find we cannot control existing parties that we want this State organization to give us character and strength, so that by diverting vital forces from controlling parties in the interest of the liquor traffic, we may, at least in part, the better accomplish the work in hand. The gentleman who spoke last night (Mr. Brosius) is in error. The Republican party, I know, have the name of abolishing slavery. They have the reputation of having emancipated four millions of human beings in bondage. Sir, I think the Boys in Blue had as much to do with the abolition of slavery as anybody. Our soldiers, regardless of party, sprang to arms when the nation was in peril and were ready to do or die for the salvation of their country. They deserve as much credit as, if not more than, the Republican party. But granted that the Republican party did abolish slavery. What of it? No great political party in this county has ever moved on from one great work to another. History demonstrates this fact. They accomplish the work on which they started out, and when that duty is completed, they die. I want some one to name a single party in this country that has stepped from reform to reform. I give the Republican party credit for all they have done. But I say they are unwilling to-day to accept any other great issue. What is our experience in reference to this? Our friends went to the New York Republican Convention——

A Delegate—Has the gentleman the right to proceed another ten minutes?

Rev. Mr. Thompson—Has he the right to go into general political discussion?

Mr. Hicks—I will be through very soon. I say in New York our friends went to the Republican State Convention, but they effected nothing. The Republican party of that State snapped their fingers in our faces and nominated one of the largest lager beer dealers in the Commonwealth for one of the highest offices in their gift. [Applause. A voice: "He was a Boy in Blue!" Laughter.] It has been asserted here that the Brewers' Congress has declared for a third party. Is it possible that the liquor league will leave parties over which they have perfect control and thus set both parties in opposition to them? Does the gentleman not know that the Democratic and Republican parties are entirely under the control of the whisky ring and the Beer Congress? [Applause.] Does he think they will organize a third party and allow us to control both the existing parties? No, sir. There is a little too much intelligence and rationalism in the whisky ring to do anything of that kind. The Republican party will continue to be controlled by the whisky interest until the temperance party rise in their might and say we have stood this thing long enough and we will stand it no longer, and then go on to victory. [Applause.] One thought more in reference to this matter. It has been stated here that the third party movement has already proved a failure. Failure in Philadelphia has been rung in our ears. I propose to answer this allegation and the argument embraced by it, in this way: Wherever the temperance men have united as a body for the accomplishment of a political purpose, they have succeeded. One gentleman has cited Allegheny county. Did the Republican party, I ask, give us Allegheny county? No! The united interest of the temperance men gave us the victory there. Then how about Philadelphia? I had something to do with the independent temperance movement there. What was the actual result? But few of the temperance men made any stand. They either did not know their own strength, or were actuated by partizan motives. The masses of the temperance people withheld their influence. Was it because they had suddenly become opposed to temperance? No, sir. Was it because they were opposed to political action? No, sir. But it was because they did not deem it time to organize an independent party, and because it began in the wrong direction. That is the whole truth. I am here, too, to acknowledge the justice of their position. We started prematurely,

and for the control of the Row offices in Philadelphia, instead of striking for the control of the legislative positions. And this failure, forsooth, is rung in our ears as an argument in opposition to the third party temperance movement! I tell you that those who have no axes to grind—the honest, earnest, indefatigable temperance men of Philadelphia—are as ripe to-day for independent action as they ever will be. Only convince them that the active men are with them, and we will show you a result that will astonish you. I trust, sir, that this matter will be earnestly, conscientiously, deliberately, and not hastily, decided upon, and that we will have the freest possible discussion. The debate thus far has undoubtedly enlightened the minds of temperance men in this convention. Let us have more of it.

Gen. Robert L. Bodine, of Philadelphia—I desire to make an explanation. The last speaker has asserted on this floor that a certain politician this morning met another politician on the street and asked him how he was going to vote on this question, intimating that if he was for a third party movement he should no longer be President of a certain Republican Club. Now, sir, as this is intended to refer to me, and will be carried to Philadelphia to my damage, if possible, I wish the Convention to understand the facts. This morning, sometime prior to the opening of the Convention, I met Mr. Shaner, of the Nineteenth ward. I asked him how he felt about this question; if he was in favor of an independent party. He replied that he would vote for the minority report. Said I, then, “Are you not chairman of the Nineteenth Ward Republican Association?” That was all that was said on the occasion. I am not in his ward. I am chairman of the Third Ward Association. This construction of my remark is wrong. It cannot possibly affect the question before the Convention, and it can have no effect in Philadelphia against me. When in the right, I do not give way to any man. When a gentleman thus misrepresents a case, it shows the weakness of his cause.

Hon. S. B. Chase—I do not deprecate the discussion of this question. It augurs the interest manifested in this great enterprise, and if it should not be productive of any irritation of feeling I shall be glad of the opportunity for expression of opinion which it affords. I do not regard it, however, as in good taste, to bring up the present political parties, spreading before us the acts of either

of them. [Applause.] I believe it was the intense loyalty burning in the American bosom that saved our country. [Applause.] We are, however, not very far apart. We all agree substantially that this is a question that should be carried to the ballot-box. The only difference of opinion is, as to how it should be carried to the polls. I may conscientiously differ from you as to what should constitute the necessity for an independent party. Parties have been the culmination of public sentiment, rather than the origination of public sentiment. The Republican party of 1855 was but the culmination of the anti-slavery opinion of the country, not the precursor or the creator of public sentiment; and all the parties in the country could not then prevent the formation of that party. The question now, with us, is: Is there such a culmination of feeling and opinion in Pennsylvania as necessitates an exclusive independent temperance party? Why, Mr. President, if there was there would be no such discussion as has taken place upon this floor. [Applause.] If the remarks of the gentleman from Lancaster, (Dr. Nevin) are true, I say we are not prepared for any such movement in this State, because he says himself that we have been retrograding. If so, what would this third party represent? Parties must represent principle; they must be the culmination of a general demand for action. If we have been retrograding, we do not want a party; we want to educate the people for such a party. I do not believe that political parties were ever instituted for any such purpose, and I do not believe they are calculated to achieve any result in *educating* the masses. Suppose a third party was formed upon the basis suggested by some of our friends—upon the assumption that there is more drinking in this State now than there was forty years ago, and that we have really made no advance. Who would control that party? Who would compose its rank and file? Who would lead it to victory? Why, it would be a mere party on paper. Where are you going to get the power to propel the machinery? and where is the machinery to come from? I heard a gentleman not long ago say, he wanted a law that would execute itself. [Laughter.] I have known men who have devoted their whole lives in the vain attempt to invent perpetual motion. I believe these gentlemen are after the same thing. When they discover this, they will find a law that will execute itself! [Laughter and applause.] No party can be successfully formed and pro-

pel its machinery until there is a sentiment that demands the formation of that party. Now, I do not claim any particular knowledge in reference to the sentiment of this State. But I now have very much more knowledge of the public feeling in Pennsylvania than I had two years ago. I might then have taken the position of Brother Black. I might have been discouraged at home; and deprecating the unfriendly action of existing political parties, have joined in the organization of a new party, under the vain hope and belief that all we had to do was to put our standard bearers in the front and carry all before us. But traveling extensively over this commonwealth, the sentiment, or rather the opinion, I formed two years ago has been wonderfully dissipated. A large number of conventions have been held all over the State under the auspices of the Good Templars. Resolutions have been repeatedly offered for a third party, and I do not recollect a single Good Templars' Convention, or meeting, this year, that have adopted any of these measures for independent action; while I know many such convocations that have decidedly rejected all such resolutions. Recollect that this action does not come from those ignorant of the facts; but from men and women who understand the public heart. If there is no one to sustain this party, how is it going to succeed?

[The ten minutes being exhausted, Mr. Black moved that the gentleman be allowed to proceed. Agreed to.]

Thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention. A political party is not like an insurance company, that can be formed on paper, and if it has money enough may go on with its business and succeed. A political party cannot be formed on paper. There must be an all-pervading sentiment creating it; and when that sentiment is formed there will be no power to prevent the formation of the party. I have still another argument against the formation of this third party; it is this: This great temperance reform is deemed, and rightfully so, a great moral enterprise. It is therefore a mixed sentiment. It may be considered a moral, as well as a political one. So far as our action at the ballot-box is concerned, it is political. So far as educating the people up to the proper standard is concerned, it is a great moral enterprise. Now, Mr. President, suppose that the Christian Church of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania were to organize a third party for the purpose of propagating the truths of the Christian religion. How long

would such a movement last until there would be a shipwreck of all our religious institutions? So far, then, as the temperance reform is a moral enterprise, it stands parallel with the Christian Church, and you might just as well send the temperance reform into the political arena as to send the Christian Church into the political arena. So soon as you form a political party, you have got to take your chances as a party. You will have to take the chances of contamination; and that moment you divorce the political and moral aspects of the temperance reform. They cannot go hand in hand, and when you divorce them you make shipwreck of the moral feature of the temperance cause. [Applause.] Would my friend from Lancaster, Mr. Black, run the risk of sinking the moral aspect of this question? I say you can do nothing in this State without moral suasion. It will require years, and it may be all missionary work, to prepare the people of this commonwealth to come up to the stand-point that the traffic in intoxicating drinks is a sin. The gentleman has classed the sale of liquor with immorality. How many people in this commonwealth can you find who will stand up in a political meeting and pronounce the traffic in rum as an immorality? There are comparatively few men who will class it as a sin, *per se*. I mean the masses in this State. Until we have brought the public sentiment up higher than it is now, we must make use of the moral principle in this great battle. We have temperance organizations engaged in this work. We have our Temples of Honor; our Sons of Temperance, and our Good Templars, &c. We have the Church. Let that also be called into requisition. It has a power which is overwhelming. It can crush this demon, if it only will. It can bring about the day when the demon Rum will no longer destroy the peace of society. Shall we anticipate the movement of the Church by taking the work out of its hands?—for we will assuredly do it by organizing a third party. I think I have made myself understood. I trust so at least. My experience in this State as a presiding officer of one of our temperance organizations, is that we will have to run our chances with the present political parties, and that it would be political suicide, so far as the interests of temperance are concerned, for us to organize a distinctive temperance party.

Gen. Bodine—Now, Mr. President, I rise to call the previous question.

Mr. Ashman, of Philadelphia—I raise the point of order, Mr. President, that the time indicated for calling the previous question has passed.

The Chair—The previous question can be called at any time.

The call was seconded by thirty-two delegates.

The Chair—The question before the Convention is, shall the main question be now put?

A number of delegates voted *aye*, a number *no*.

The Chair—The Chair is unable to decide.

A delegate called for a division of the question, which resulted in yeas 55, nays 65.

So the call for the previous question was not agreed to.

Mr. Ashman, of Philadelphia—I only want to say a word upon this question. I came here totally uninstructed as to the course we ought to pursue. The vote I intend to record will be as much a surprise to those who sent me here as to you. Voting, as I intend to do, for the minority report, I can say freely and frankly, that the discussion in this Convention has had the effect of changing my sentiments on this question. I have an argument to offer in pleading guilty to this charge. The gentleman, [Hon. S. B. Chase,] who argued against the minority report, has really presented a strong argument in favor of it. He alludes to the declaration before made on this floor, that the cause of temperance has retrograded within the last thirty years. Granting that to be the fact, I ask him that if our cause has retrograded in the absence of any political organization of temperance men, whether it can do more than retrograde with a third party? No. I would ask him too, if our cause has not retrograded simply for want of a third party organization? I know it is not sufficient to say of a candidate that he is a temperance man. It is very true that the important questions of tariff, revenue, and finance are all of them to be considered. It is very true, too, that temperance men may not be a unit on these questions. But I hold that higher than all these questions stands that of temperance, as involving every question of governmental policy and economy—every question concerning the welfare or woe of mankind. [Applause.]

In this question are involved the questions of finance, tariff, revenues, and the development of our material resources, as well as our moral welfare as a nation. Who fills your jails, your peniten-

tiaries and your almshouses, if it be not the victims of the liquor traffic? Standing up to this great principle of temperance, we are compelled to meet all the questions of finance, tariff, and economy that may agitate our land. It is a great moral question, and necessarily involves all these other considerations. We are all agreed upon doing only what is best to be done for it. We are all agreed, too, that it is necessary to go into some form of political action—some new form of political organization. We are told that we can take up with the Republican party—that we can remodel the constitution of that party. If we can do so, what is the necessity of our doing so? Why, sir, this proposition involves the reconstruction of the whole Republican party. What is the difference between a rejuvenated Republican party and a third party? I ask you to point to me a single convention in which a temperance plank will be admitted to its platform? What temperance paper will be admitted as its organ? [A voice: “Not one!”] I admire the Republican party and its history. That party has stood forward during its existence as decidedly the party of progress. But I say it is in the interest to-day of that liquor organization from which we demand to be freed. The very place in which we sit to-day is justly sanctified to our purpose. Where are we? In a tribunal consecrated to the administration of justice. It is auspicious that from a hall like this should go forth the first page in a new era of temperance. But we also stand before the tribunal of humanity, and you and I are actors before that tribunal. Suppose a trial here to-day for murder. With what anxious agony would the counsel plead for conviction or acquittal? There is now more than one criminal before the bar—criminals of the worst and deepest die. I see before this great tribunal criminals reeking with the blood, not of a single individual, but of whole hecatombs of dead victims. I arraign them before this tribunal here to-day, and I call upon this bench and this jury to see that the verdict is properly recorded. For their crimes they certainly deserve some punishment.

Edwin H. Coates, of Philadelphia—The gentleman who closed his speech last, took for granted what we on this side have not been willing to assume. He reminds me of an ancient scribe:—

“As some muskets so contrive it,
To miss the mark they aim to drive at,

And, though well aimed at duck or plover,
Bear wide and kick their holders over—
So fared our *Squire*;
For often would his reason toil,
Upon himself recoil,
And the stronger arguments he plied
The more he'd weaken his own side."—[Laughter.]

Now, I propose to take somewhat of a review of the history and passage of temperance laws. I am glad to see that my brother Hicks has considerably modified his political action during the past year. The short experience he and his friends have had in running a distinctly temperance political machine in Philadelphia has given him a wholesome lesson which has taught him the necessity for more caution and modified his political aspirations. [Laughter and applause.] I remember going into that convention that eventful morning. [Laughter.] There were several old men in the convention, who had long been devoted to the cause. There were men there, whose service in the cause of temperance could not be measured by their words alone, but by a lifetime of active exertion. Yet we were turned out of doors. I am glad the gentleman is changing, that he is coming over to where my friend Chase now stands. [Applause.] When I was a boy, I remember what took place in Philadelphia. Almost every church edifice in Philadelphia had its cellars filled with rum, and at the same time had chains across the streets to prevent the crowd from intruding upon their worship!

Rev. Pennell Coombes—Tell what they were. They were warehouses.

Mr. Coates—So they were. But it makes no difference. [Laughter and applause.] Now you will find no such thing.

The Speaker then alluded in an eloquent strain to the fact of his remembering the refusal of a Methodist Conference to admit Lucius Matlock into the church as a minister, because he believed with John Wesley that slavery was the greatest sin under heaven. The Speaker proceeded:

Lucius Matlock knocked at the door of the Methodist Conference then, and the reply was: "You cannot come in!" The same Conference met at Harrisburg three years ago. Who was it that rapped at the door? It was Lucius Matlock. What was the reply?" "Come in!" [Applause.] And how stands this Metho-

dist Episcopal Church to-day on the question of temperance? How stand the Quakers? Against intemperance. Our friend has said there has been no progress in the temperance cause for the last thirty years. If he will go into the Walnut Street theatre, Philadelphia, and see Rip Van Winkle played, he will see a perfect picture of himself.

Mr. Black—Mr. Nevin stated that there was no *political* progress.

Mr. Coates—Then he is mistaken *there*. [Laughter and applause.] Who are the temperance men? Who have gone up and down this State for thousands of miles in our interest? They have been Republicans. And they have been employed by the Republican party because they would stand by principle. It is the only party, indeed, in which any decent statesman is willing to stand.

Prof. Deans—Political parties should not be stigmatized. This is not a political organization. We have no right to stigmatize political parties by insinuation or otherwise. But I will not have the temperance men in the Democratic party stigmatized. [Applause.]

Mr. Coates—When the gentleman will find a temperance man in the Democratic party, he will not find me stigmatizing him. I agree with my friend on the left (Mr. Chase). He stated the position fairly. You will never get a temperance party till you educate the people up to it. Our cause, however, is going on gloriously. There has never been a cause that has progressed more than this temperance cause. The first meeting I ever attended was one in which the question was discussed whether it was practicable to embark in the movement for total abstinence, and three-fourths of the Convention decided that it was right to drink wine and beer! Now it is different. And the churches and Sabbath schools are moving in the matter. Ninety-nine in one hundred of your church people and Sabbath-school teachers are temperance men and women.

I want you to bear one thing perfectly in mind, that the first third political party was a party that came into existence many years after the agitation of the principles for which it fought, and men were educated up to that point by moral suasion.

Dr. Stebbins—Were you not a member of a third party?

Mr. Coates—Never, sir. I have always stood up for the principle that men should be educated up to the proper point before the

establishment of a new party. I have always been an agitator, and believed that when public sentiment was trained up to a certain point, a party would be formed and not before. The old anti-slavery party stood behind while their agents were in the field. They employed the printing press to enlighten and educate the people to a higher sense of duty and honor than ever before. It was the education of the public mind up to that standard that when the Rebellion broke out nerved the hearts and hands of the Boys in Blue to go out into the battle-field and fight as nobly as they did.

Mr. Hicks—Because it was for the flag. [Applause.]

Mr. Coates—The flag! Who cares for the flag! It was the flag that represented the country. [Applause.] They might as well have fired upon my coat-tail! [Laughter and applause.] If it had not been for John Brown they would never have fired upon that flag [Applause.] If it had not been for John Brown, Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and men like them with big hearts and noble minds, we would never have conquered slavery. We are doing very well now. Thirty years ago, when I asked to lecture on temperance in a church, I remember the people of the congregation came to me and requested me not to refer in my lecture to gentlemen connected with the church and interested in the sale of rum. Now, what is the burden of all our temperance lectures? We have no scallawags who oppose allusion to the scandal of the liquor traffic. Who, too, are the temperance men of to-day? Men of marked ability. And it is a credit to-day for a minister to stand up in his pulpit and denounce this traffic. He is proud to be called a temperance man. Well, I say as long as we are doing well, let us be satisfied with doing well. The time will come—must come—when it will be on record in regard to the temperance cause as in regard to slavery. Whiskey rings are being formed all over the land. There is a lively discussion of this question. The people are coming to think. Why is it that our opponents are forming this combination throughout the whole State? Simply because we have invaded the community and these poor blind creatures are trying to beat us. There is one kind of action against which no power can stand, and that is the power of truth in the hearts of the people crystallized into action. Slavery tried to extend itself, and in doing so cut its own jugular vein. Let

them go on. Let them mob our churches and temperance meetings, and the more they do so, the sooner they will destroy their own cause. They are doing just as Jeff. Davis and Bob. Lee in the South did. When they are driven to the wall and compelled to do some overt act, then we will sweep them before us like an avalanche. [Long continued applause.]

Mr. Black—I propose at half-past eleven o'clock to call the previous question on this debate.

Gen. William Patton, of Bradford then spoke. [Owing to the low tone and disjointed manner in which he spoke, he could be heard by the Convention only very indistinctly.] He said he had been afflicted by a stroke of paralysis, since which he found himself unable to speak very loudly. He hoped, however, that the Convention would bear with him, while he added but a few words to what has been said on this subject. He thought that his friends had traveled away from the record. He understood there was a bill before the Legislature, which was a very good one so far as it went. He was disposed to compromise, when he could not possibly obtain all he wanted; hence he was for this measure. He had the honor to be a constituent of one of the Representatives who were sustaining this bill, and he believed in that gentleman, [Mr. Chamberlain,] and he believed him to be an honest, able Representative. But if this bill passed, we would want the machinery to carry it into effect. Some allusion has been made to slavery here, and, for his part, he did not think either party had the credit of abolishing it. It was the good, honest, religious Quakers who abolished it. He recollected very well hearing John C. Calhoun in the United States Senate when one of the petitions from the Friends was received, praying for the abolition of slavery, who said that though these petitions came from the Quakers and abolitionism was a small speck in the horizon, not larger than a man's hand, yet it was a question with these people and they would stick to it, and finally upset the whole machinery of slavery, and the result would be a civil war in this Government, and probably a dissolution of the Union. As we all know, the war came; but thank God we were successful. It was asked what power the temperance cause had. His answer was that it had an omnipotent power from God. Let temperance men put their banner up. This bill was before the House of Representatives. Now there was a good deal said about the Republican party.

That party was in the majority in both Houses, and they would be held responsible for the adoption or rejection of this measure. They controlled the Legislature, and if they rejected this bill, as there was a God, the Temperance people would reject them! [Applause.] There was nothing wrong in this position. If the Republican party rejected this bill, they would be sorry for having done so; and if they compromised it, they might as well reject it. And so with any other party. As he would serve the Republican party, so he would serve every other party. He appealed to his friends to remember the standard of temperance. Some might be willing to compromise. He was not. He hoped his temperance brethren would throw their banner to the breeze, and if they did, they would doubtless follow it to victory. Let them be sure they were right and then go ahead. There seems to be a good deal of timidity in this matter—a halting between an independent party and the local-option bill. He was willing to adopt both measures and carry them out. He believed in doing everything that could be done. The local-option bill would to some extent stop rum drinking and injure the traffic in rum. The measure would have the effect of crippling the finances of the enemy. An army without arms could accomplish nothing. By party organization a good deal could be accomplished that would not otherwise be reached. Let, therefore, the Temperance men organize and arm and give the enemy 'shot and shell. He was willing now to give up all his party predilections, and run the chances with a separate political organization.

Mr. George E. Wagner, of Philadelphia,—I have listened to this debate with a great deal of interest. But we have all evidently forgotten one important point. Yesterday morning we unanimously adopted a resolution recommending and requesting the Legislature to pass the bill now before it. Now, sir, if we pass this minority resolution to-day, organizing a new party, the Legislature is not going to pass that bill. One of the parties represented in the Legislature is largely predominant, and if we pass this minority report they will throw us overboard and give us nothing.

Mr. Miller, of Westmoreland,—I would not say anything, were it not that the portion of the State which I represent has occupied very little of the time of the Convention. The gentleman who has just preceded me has stolen my thunder. That was the idea I wished to present as a delegate from the Western portion of Pennsyl-

vania. I had believed that light cometh from the East. I have been entertained by the numerous speeches we have heard from representatives on this floor. I have been benefited and pleased by the speeches of the gentlemen from Lancaster and Philadelphia. We come together here as a Convention representing every portion of this glorious Commonwealth. But if there be much of a difference of opinion, that difference comes from the eastern portion of the State. We, who come from the Western part of the State, are united against this minority report—a unit in favor of the majority report. [Applause.] Let me say this: The present Legislature will do nothing for us if we pass this minority resolution. But my prophecy again is, pass the majority report to back up your action of yesterday, and this present Legislature will be afraid to deny what this Convention has asked at its hands. [Applause.] Much has been said against the Democratic party. I have no more love for that party than I ought to have. I live in Westmoreland county, in sight of the smoke of Overholt's distillery, sir. There are three towns in that county with prohibitory liquor laws. And yet I stand here to say that not one of these three towns could have procured the passage of a prohibitory law without the aid of leading Democrats. I repeat I have no love for that party, but let us do justice to all, and by the blessing of God, even in Westmoreland county, we shall be successful. [Applause.]

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill—A great deal has been said, sir, to the effect that the delegates from the western part of the State are united in favor of the majority report. There are, let me say, at least two representatives from western Pennsylvania in favor of the minority report. [Applause.]

Rev. Mr. Landis, of Potter County—I wish to say, Mr. President, that I want prohibition over the entire State. But if I cannot get that, I want part of the State. I do not propose to precipitate the third party movement upon the country at a wrong time. I come from a prohibitory county. We are there without a criminal, and without a jail at the present time. [Applause.] How did we get this prohibitory law? Why, sir, by the Temperance men going into the political convention and selecting such men for the Bench and Legislature whom they could trust. And even those voting against us on former occasions would now vote for the continuance of this prohibitory liquor law, not only the

Republican party, but almost all the intelligent men in both parties. If, sir, we had gone into a third party organization, our history would be the same as that of all other parties that have been prematurely formed, and we should have had to go back into existing parties. The Anti-Slavery party had to come back to the Republican party to succeed. I have been obedient to the same principle when I preach the gospel. If they will not come to me I must go to them. If the Republican party will not come over to us I must go to them, and compel them, by reason if possible, to come over to me. Let us pass this local-option bill. County after county will, perhaps, adopt this measure as a moral necessity, and as a progressive measure. There are a great many good christian people to-day who would not vote with a third party, not because they are not good christians, or good temperance men, but because they can accomplish more by remaining in existing parties. They believe that we would be far in advance of the times to organize a distinctive Temperance party now. We must educate the people up to that point. In the meantime, all that has been done for Temperance has been done by existing parties. I very widely disagree with one of the gentlemen who has spoken in favor of this movement. A foreign element, to be sure, is coming in. We must do the best we can to overcome its influence. But we are now educating the Republican party—and the Democratic party, too—on this great subject of Temperance. And I believe, sir, that the time will come when the christian sentiment of the country will come to our material aid.

Mr. Black [the hour of half-past eleven having arrived]—Believing it to be for the accommodation of the masses of this Convention, I now move the previous question.

Gen. Bradford, of Beaver—I have had the pleasure of visiting the powers that be, on the Hill, and while there I took pains to consult the leading men of the respective houses, for the purpose of ascertaining their sentiments in regard to the local-option bill, the law which we have requested them to pass. The opinion in the House was that they respected the voice of this Convention as already expressed. [Applause.] They, however, said to me: *If you throw no obstacles in the way*, we will pass the bill. [Long continued applause.] In the Senate the idea presented to me was: We respect the opinion of the Temperance Convention now as-

sembled at the Court House. And let us, I humbly pray, do nothing to impair this good feeling.

Mr. Black—The hour of half past eleven having arrived, I now move for the previous question.

The Chair—Shall the main question now be put?

Agreed to.

The majority and minority reports were then again read.

The chair—The vote will first be taken on the minority report.

Mr. H. C. Weaver, of Huntingdon county, demanded the yeas and nays, seconded by Mr. Hicks, of Philadelphia.

On the call of the yeas and nays, the minority report was disagreed to.

YEAS—Messrs. Ange, Ashmund, Beardslee, Bull, Black, Brown, Boger, Bridges, Cartney, Chapman, Claghorn, Cutler, Chilson, Davis, Doebler, Ebens, George, Hiek, Izzard, Kauffman, Kirby, Kulp, Liechtenburg, Longshore, Lukens, McCartney, Martin, Martin, McGuigan, Ogletton, Pierce, Patton, Pasmore, Palen, Rowley, Simon, Sutman, Simpson, Shafer, Stiles, Stebbens, Stebbens, (Dr.), Silsby, Shaner, Spanger, Thompson, Tannier, Taylor, Wilson, Wilson, (Phila.), Wier, Wisener, Weaver, Mrs. George, Miss Hill. 55.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Axe, Auchenbach, Ardley, Bestwick, Baer, Baer (Laneaster), Bensinger, Booth, Baldwin, Bradford, Brosius, Blover, Barnsley, Bernheisel, jr., Berkinbine, Bodine, Beach, Bernheisel, sr., Best, Brundeg, Barr, Bostiek, Bickley, Bowman, Buckingham, Coombe, Come, Conkey, Chase, Coates, Curtis, Carrow, Dixon, Deans, Davidson, Dorsey, Derdey, Dunning, Dannelley, Eastburn, Eyster, Freis, Flemming, Fell, Flayel, Guss, Gentner, Garner, Gilman, Geymer, Gater, Griffith, Hufferwock, Hawk, Henderson, Hill, Hood, Hart, Hammer, Hummell, Jones, Irish, Fysert, Janes, (W. H.) Jewell, Keyser, Kester, Kistler, Krumrine, Keller, Landis, Lauaborne, Lott, McNeill, Morehead, Marey, Morrow, McIlvain, McFarland, Martin, Meredith, Miller, McCarroll, Nicholson, Olmstead, Pennypaeker, Pearsol, Potter, Pugh, Roberts, Redding, Read, Rohrer, Ross, Rowe, Rauch, (E. W.) Raueh, (W. H.) Rogers, Robinson, Rhoades, Sterritt, Spayd, Seiders, Sypher, Scott, Santo, Shaffer, Troutner, Turner, Tyler, Thompson, Vandersliee, Wagner, Wright, Yeo, Young, Young, (J. C.) Young, (J. H.) Graydon, Miss Wright. 121.

The Chair announced that the minority report was defeated. Yeas. 55; Nays, 121.

The majority report, as embodied in resolution No. 10, being before the Convention,

Mr. Turner offered a substitute, which the Chair referred immediately to the Committee on Business, ruling that the Convention was still under the operation of the call for the previous question.

The Chair put the question on Resolution No. 10, which was agreed to by a *viva voce* vote.

The Eleventh Resolution being read,

Mr. J. R. Sypher, of Philadelphia, moved its adoption.

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill, offered the following amendment, to come in as an addition :

That the State Central Committee be authorized and instructed to make a demand, in such form as they may see proper, upon both the Republican and Democratic parties at their State Conventions in 1870, that they recognize the principle of prohibition of the liquor traffic, as a correct principle of law, and a correct application of the just powers of civil government, and give a pledge of their adherence to this principle; and that if neither of these parties are willing to give such a pledge, the Committee shall call at as early a day as possible, a State Convention, to organize an independent temperance party in this State.

Disagreed to—Yeas 74, nays 79.

The eleventh resolution was then adopted.

The twelfth and thirteenth resolutions were adopted as reported from the Committee.

The fourteenth resolution being read, Rev. Pennell Coombe moved to amend by adding the words: "and that we pray the Legislature their continuance."

The amendment was agreed to, and the fourteenth resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth resolutions were adopted as reported from the Committee.

The nineteenth resolution being read, Mr. J. J. Lichtenberg, of Pottsville, offered the following amendment :

Resolved, That the importance of gathering the children into juvenile temperance organizations cannot be too highly commended to parents and friends of the young. The Order of the Cadets of Temperance, and the Cadets of Honor and Temperance since their organization have, by their fruits, consisting of many valuable members of Christian churches

and Temperance societies, indicated themselves to be tried and valuable educators ; and we do earnestly hope and recommend that organizations of this character may be formed where other juvenile temperance organizations do not exist.

Rev. Pennel Coombe—I do not think it necessary to recommend any particular juvenile association. I move that the body of this resolution be stricken out, and that it be made to read as follows :

Resolved, That the importance of gathering the children in juvenile temperance organizations cannot be too highly recommended to parents and friends of the young ; and we do earnestly hope such organizations will be formed where they do not now exist.

That strikes out all reference to any particular form of juvenile organization.

Rev. Mr. Coombe's amendment was adopted, and the nineteenth resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The twentieth resolution was adopted as read.

Mr. Edwin Booth moved that the resolution referring all resolutions to the Committee on Business, without debate, be rescinded.

Agreed to.

The following preamble and resolution were handed to the Secretary and read to the Convention.

WHEREAS, Woman is the greatest sufferer in consequence of the gigantic evil that we have met together to suppress ; therefore

Resolved, That it is the sentiment of this Convention that woman should have the right of suffrage on the question of prohibition, as it may be presented for the decision of the people.

MRS. E. HILL, Harrisburg.

MYRER BEACH, Scranton.

[Applause.]

Mr. Black—Amen to that !

Mr. Meredith—I move the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote, amid prolonged applause. Mr. George E. Wagner, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be printed in pamphlet form, under the direction of the State Temperance Union, and that the contract therefor be awarded to the lowest and best bidder—

Provided, The bidder be a temperance man ; and each member of this Convention who has paid two dollars be furnished with three copies.

Mr. W. Harry Rauch, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention are hereby voted to the various Railroad Companies for the courtesies extended to those visiting this Convention.

Agreed to.

Mr. E. H. Rauch, of Lancaster, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the treasurer be authorized and directed to pay all bills justly due for expenses incurred by the Convention, any balance in his hands to be turned over to the State Temperance Union.

Agreed to.

Gen. R. L. Bodine, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention are hereby tendered to John Bardsley, Esq., for the able and truly efficient manner in which he presided over the deliberations of this body.

Agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Wagner, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due and are hereby tendered to the Commissioners of Dauphin county for the use of the Court House in holding this Convention.

Agreed to.

Mr. Kauffman, of Schuylkill, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That if the Legislature, now in session, refuse or neglect to pass the local option bill now before the House, the State Central Committee be authorized and requested to call a State Convention to take such action as may be deemed expedient.

Mr. E. H. Rauch—I move to lay that resolution on the table.

Disagreed to—yeas 40, nays 56.

Mr. Hicks here called the previous question on the resolution, which was seconded and sustained.

The question being on the resolution, it was declared adopted, amid applause.

Mr. S. R. Carothers offered the following resolution :

Resolved, By the State Temperance Convention assembled at Harrisburg, Pa., February 8th and 9th, 1870, that we do hereby earnestly petition the Senate and House of Representatives now in session at Washington, D. C., to so amend the revenue law regulating the tax on ardent spirits as to increase said tax to two dollars per gallon, instead of fifty cents, as now, and the Secretaries are hereby instructed to present this, our petition to the above Houses.

Mr. Wagner—I move that the resolution be referred to the State Central Committee.

The motion to refer was agreed to. Yeas, 56, nays, 38.

Mr. Edwin Booth, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That a copy of the resolution of this Convention be furnished the President and Vice President of the United States, and the Governor of this State.

Agreed to.

Mr. E. H. Rauch, of Lancaster—A little while ago a resolution was adopted from which I dissented. It was holding out a threat to the Legislature. I do not think it was the intention of the gentleman [Mr. Kauffman] to do so. I therefore move a reconsideration of the vote by which this Convention passed the resolution, providing, that if the Legislature now in session should refuse or neglect to pass the local-option bill now pending in the House of Representatives, the State Central Committee be authorized and requested to call a State Convention to take such action as may be deemed expedient. It was clearly an intimidation to the Legislature.

Mr. Hick—I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. Hick's motion was disagreed to—yeas 42, nays 48.

Mr. Hicks, of Philadelphia, moved to adjourn.

Disagreed to : yeas 39, nays 46.

Mr. Sypher, of Philadelphia, moved the previous question.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to. Yeas 53, nays 42.

The Chair declared Mr. Kauffman's resolution again before the Convention.

Mr. Wagner moved that the resolution be laid on the table.

Agreed to.

Mr. Wagner—I move that we do now adjourn *sine die*.

Agreed to.

President Bardsley—I desire the attention of the Convention for just a moment. As Chairman of your Convention, ladies and gentlemen, I desire at this time to return to you my thanks for the kind assistance you have rendered the Chair in the discharge of his duties. I believe that we have done a great work. We have definitely and distinctly presented to the people of this Commonwealth certain grand principles—principles we have declared we shall adhere to and require adherence to by all our friends through-

out the State. We have said that we are determined to stand firm, and, if possible, destroy the demon of intemperance by prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors. I believe that temperance has taken another grand step in advance, and that she will open more grandly than she has ever done before. We have had increased respect to the cause of temperance. I will not detain you by any further remarks.

Mr. Sypher—In some of the questions before this Convention I seem to have been on the side of the minority. But I will say that I have never been in any Convention where such knotty questions were ruled with such fairness by the President. I have never seen more impartiality displayed by any presiding officer, than by the President of this Convention.

The Convention then uniting sang :

“Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
Praise him, all creatures here below ;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host ;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

Rev. Pennel Coombe pronounced the benediction, when the Chair adjourned the Convention, *sine die*.

APPENDIX.

Paper A.

LIST OF DELEGATES PRESENT AT THE CONVENTION.

NAME.	POST OFFICE.	REPRESENTATIVE FROM
Augee, M.....	Norristown, Pa.....	Middle Ward of Norristown.....
Allen, James S.....	Lancaster.....	Lancaster Co. Dist. Con. I. O. G. T.
Axe, Wm. W.....	Frankford, Phila.....	Frankford Division S. of T.....
Adore, Wm.....	Harrisburg.....	2d Presbyterian Church.....
Ashman, W. K.....	Philadelphia.....	Grand Division.....
Aughenbaugh, Geo. B.....	Harrisburg.....	1st Ref. Church.....
Aibauy, C. S.....	West Haverford.....	Bry'w. Manor Lodge.....
Bestwick, A.....	New Brighton.....	New Brighton Lodge I. O. G. T.....
Baro, D. S.....	Lancaster City.....	First Ward.....
Rissel, D. W.....	Lancaster City.....	Fourth Ward.....
Bear, Col. Wm. L.....	Lancaster City.....	Sixth Ward.....
Beardsley, W. W.....	Lancaster City.....	Lancaster Temperance Associat'n
Bensiuger, C.....	Mahanoy City.....	Pioneer Temple.....
Booth, Edwin.....	Philadelphia.....	Heidleberg Lodge I. O. G. T.....
Bulb, Reuben C.....	725 Race Street, Phila.....	Minnehaha Temple.....
Belden, Rev. S. M.....	Fairview, Erie co.....	Fairview Lodge I. O. G. T.....
Black, James.....	Lancaster.....	Chairman State Cen. Convention
Bradford, R. B.....	New Brighton, Beaver co.....	New Brighton Temp. League.....
Brosius, M.....	Lancaster.....	Wellsboro Lodge I. O. G. T.....
Blocher, I. F.....	Wyalusing.....	F. M. E. Church.....
Bardsley, John.....	Philadelphia.....	Grand Division.....
Benheiser, Peter.....	Harrisburg.....	Att. Lebanon Temple.....
Birkenbrier, H. P. M.....	Philadelphia.....	Penna. State Temperance Society
Bodwie, Gen. Rob't L.....	Philadelphia.....	Philadelphia Temperance Society
Beach, Maria.....	Scranton.....	Crystal Social Union.....
Boyer, Charles L.....	Harrisburg.....	Free Temperance Union.....
Bernheisel, P., Sr.....	Harrisburg.....	Second Ward.....
Best, D.....	Harrisburg.....	Sixth Ward.....
Bruudage, A. F.....	Peckville.....	Lackawanna Lodge.....
Barr, W.....	Harrisburg.....	Washington Lodge.....
Bostick, J. B.....	Harrisburg.....	2d Ref. Sunday School.....
Bickley, A. F.....	Waverly Heights.....	Waverly Division.....
Bridges, Frank L.....	Johnstown.....	Sons of Temperance.....
Bowman, Jos.....	Strasburg.....	Strasburg Lodge.....
Buckingham, Rev. A. S.....	Shamokin.....	M. E. Church.....
Combe, Rev. Pennell.....	N. W. cor 10th & Cherry sts.	State Temperance Union.....
Carson, John W.....	Philadelphia.....	Grand Section.....
Cone, Andrew.....	Oil City.....	Oil City Lodge, I. O. G. T.....
Crowther, Rev. S. F.....	New Brighton, Beaver Co.....	New Brighton Temp. League.....
Cunkle, J. H.....	Elizabethtown.....	Cblll Hazzard Lodge, I. O. G. T.....
Chapman, W. G.....	Philadelphia.....	Hamilton Temple.....
Clagborn, W. C.....	Philadelphia.....	Fidelity Temple of Honor.....
Chamberlain, Hon. J. F.....	Wyalusing.....	Wyalusing Lodge.....
Chas, Hon. S. B.....	Lancaster.....	Grand Lodge.....
Coates, Edwin H.....	Philadelphia.....	Temperance Blessing.....
Curtis, Rev. S. F.....	Ashland.....	Aqua Lodge.....
Carrow, Dr. G.....	Germantown.....	Haines' M. E. Church.....
Cutler, A. R.....	Philadelphia.....	Lincoln Lodge.....
Chillson, W. T.....	Port Carbon.....	Reliance Division.....

NAMES.	POST-OFFICE.	REPRESENTATIVE FROM
Davis, Wm.	Philadelphia	Grand Section
Davis, J. G.	Holidaysburg	Morrison's Cave Lodge
Deaslet, John	1620 Walter st., Phila.	Lady Washington Social Temple
Dixon, Samuel	Blairsville	Blairsville Temple League
Deans, C. W.	Chester Springs	Liquid Light Lodge
Dorsey, Wm. R.	Harrisburg	A. M. E. C. S. S.
Dewey, Henry C.	Pittston	Pittston M. E. Church
Donnelly, Thos. K.	Philadelphia	Peace Social Temple
Dibeler, John B.	West Philadelphia	Ketcham Lodge
Dunning, Mrs. A. B.	Dunnings	Madisonville Lodge
Dunning, Hon. A. B.	Dunnings	Roaring Brook Lodge
Eastburn, Robert	Yardleyville	Yardleyville Lodge I. O. G. T.
Evans, John J.	Ebensburg	Highland Division S. of T.
Eyster, D. A. S.	Harrisburg	2d Eng. Lutheran Church
Fries, Rev. W. H.	Kellyville, Delaware county	M. E. Preachers' Meeting
Fell, Emily	Pineville	Pineville Lodge I. O. G. T.
Flemming, Andrew W.	Gettysburg	Adams Division S. of T.
Fell, O. S.	Philadelphia	Phila. Division S. of T.
Fritz, Samuel	Lancaster	Lancaster Division S. of T.
Flaville, W. H.	Media	Delaware Co. Good Templars
Guss, Isaac	Cassville, Pa.	M. E. Church
George, John	West Chester	Wayward Lodge I. O. G. T.
George, Mrs. M. E.	West Chester	Stanton Division S. and D. of T.
Garner, Charles A.	Ashland	John W. Geary Section
Geist, J. S.	Marietta	Sparkling Water Division
Gilman, John M.	Chambersburg	Aqua Temple
Gwinner, S. F.	Philadelphia	2d Universalist Church
Gaitor, John	Harrisburg	W. W. Church
Griffith, T. M.	Harrisburg	M. E. Church
Grayden, Dr. W.	Dauphin	Delaware Lodge
Houghton, B. S.	Warrior's Mark	Warrior's Mark Lodge I. O. G. T.
Hawk, Wm.	Bristol	Bristol Division S. of T.
Hendrickson, Rev. Wm. C.	Bristol	Golden Rule Lodge I. O. G. T.
Hartley, M. B.	Lancaster City	Eighth Ward
Hartman, Samuel L.	Lancaster City	Ninth Ward
Hadesty, G. W.	Tamaqua	Temple of Honor
Hiek, Geo. H.	Philadelphia	Independent Reform Party
Hill, Rev. Geo. D. D.	Blairsville	Presbyterian Church
Heil, Daniel	Ashland	Lincoln Temple
Henninger, Jacob	Chambersburg	McMurray Lodge
Hill, Miss E.	Harrisburg	Washington Lodge
Hicks, I. B.	Somerset	Somerset Lodge
Hunt, Rev. T. P.	Wilkesbarre	State Temperance Union
Hood, Rev. N.	West Fairview	Onward Lodge, S. of T.
Hubley, A. A.	Lancaster	Lancaster Lodge
Hart, Jacob, M. D.	York	M. E. Church
Hammer, Theo.	Mahanoy City	Pamphylia Lodge
Hummel, Valentine	Harrisburg	1st English Lutheran Church
Jones, Rev. T. R.	Ebensburg	Highland Temple of Honor
Irish, R. E.	Tarr Farm	Tarr Farm Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Izzard, Miss Emma	1430 N. 11 st., Phila.	Attleboro Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Isett, Samuel	Yellow Springs	Etna Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Jones, W. H.	Belle Vernon	Belle Vernon Temple
Jennings, W.	Harrisburg	Ninth Ward
Isett, I. B.	Holidaysburg	Chimney Rock Good Templar
Keacher, T. R.	Cressona	Cressona
Kanfman, Luther S.	Minersville	Union Temple League
Kester, O. P.	Conyngham	Conyngham Division S. of T.
Kistler, D.	Lovysville, Perry county	Blairsville Lodge I. O. G. T.
Kirby, Rev. E. W.	Milton	Grand Lodge
Krumfine, John	Littlestown	St. Paul's Evan. Luth. Church
Keeker, R. F.	Harrisburg	1st Reformed Church
Keller, J. M.	Tamaqua	Enterprise Division
Landis, Rev. J. L.	Coudersport	Union Meet'g of Bap. & Pres. Ch's.
Liechtenberg, T. J.	Pottsville	Mountain City Temple
Lamborn, Ezer	Euterprise	Euterprise Lodge I. O. G. T.
Longshore, J. S., M. D.	1430 N. 11th st., Phila.	Excelsior Division S. of T.
Lewis, S. D.	Wilkesbarre	Abe Lincoln Division
Lott, John W.	Harrisburg	Evangelical S. S.
Lukens, Seth	Kulpsville	Kulpsville Lodge
McCartney, James	Petersburg	Mount Hope Lodge, I. O. G. T.
McNeil, Samuel	Lower Chanceford	Lower Chanceford Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Miller, Jacob N.	Lancaster	East Missiou Sunday School

NAMES.	POST-OFFICE.	REPRESENTATIVE FROM
Martin, E. P. H.	Kennett Square.	Kennett Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Moorehead, A. Thompson, sr	Indiana.	Indiana Co. Temperance Associ'n
Mason, Charles.	Doylestown.	Doylestown Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Martin, I. A.	Strasburg.	Strasburg Borough.
Marcy, Perry.	Tunkhannock.	Tunkhannock Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Marshall, John W.	Lancaster.	St. Paul's M. E. Sunday School.
Morrow, Henry F.	Chester.	Fountain Lodge, I. O. G. T.
McElvaine, Samuel H.	Philadelphia.	Itasea Lodge, I. O. G. T.
McGuigan, John C.	Philadelphia.	Hirophant Division.
McFarland, Geo. F.	Harrisburg.	M'Allistersville S'drsOrp'nAsy'm
Martin, Jos. W.	Philadelphia.	Grand Division.
Meredith, F. F.	Port Richmond.	People's Lodge.
Moore, W. C.	Pottstown.	Pottstown Lodge.
Magonage, W. A.	Tyrone.	Sinking Spring.
Miller, Rev. O. S.	West Newton.	Reform Association.
McCorrell, S. I. M.	Harrisburg.	1st Presbyterian Church.
Martin, A. M.	Corry.	Corry Lodge.
Miller, D. W.	Middletown.	Swatara Lodge.
Miller, J. W.	Lancaster.	— Ward.
Nevin, Rev. E. H.	Lancaster City.	Second Ward.
Nicholson, Wm.	956 N. 7th st., Phila.	State Temperance Union.
Neff, C. H.	York.	York Co. Temperance Society.
Olmsted, Henry J.	Condersport.	Meth. Bap. and Pres. Churches.
Ogelton, W. H.	Harrisburg.	A. M. E. Church.
Pennypacker, Rev. G. D.	Greencastle.	Valley Echo Lodge I. O. G. T.
Pearson, J. H.	Lancaster City.	Fourth Ward.
Pierce, I. Newton.	Philadelphia.	Effective Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Passmore, Enoch.	Kennett Square.	Kennett Union Temp. Society.
Potter, Jacob.	Philadelphia.	Brotherly Love Section.
Paylen, R. G. E.	Tunkhannock.	Ministerial Ass. of Wyalusing Dis.
Patton, Gen. Wm.	Towanda.	Towanda Division S. of T.
Pugh, Wm. H.	Strasburg.	M. E. Church.
Roberts, Emily.	Ebensburg.	Evening Star Social Temple.
Reading, A. B.	Point Pleasant.	Bucks Co. Convent'n Good Temp.
Reed, J. D.	Christianna.	Christiana Lodge I. O. G. T.
Rohrer, Charles S.	Prospectville.	Prospectville Lodge I. O. G. T.
Ross, Lafayette.	Conshohocken.	Ark of Safety Lodge I. O. G. T.
Roe, George S.	331 S. Water st., Phila.	Rescue Division S. of T.
Reid, N. C., M. D.	Philadelphia.	Knights of Rechab.
Rauch, E. H.	Lancaster.	F. Baptist S. School.
Rogers, Rev. G. B.	Brooklyn.	Brooklyn Lodge.
Reece, C. J.	Harrisburg.	Third Ward.
Robinson, Rev. J. H.	Harrisburg.	1st Presbyterian Church.
Rauch, Harry.	Philadelphia.	Evangelical Church.
Rhoads, Hiram.	Lancaster.	Young Men's Christian Asso.
Rakestraw, G. G.	Harrisburg.	St. Pauls Church S. S.
Rindlaub, J. H. M.	Cassville.	Cassville Lodge.
Rowley, J. W.	Philadelphia.	F. Temperance Society.
Simson, F. I.	Cressona.	Crystal Fount Section.
Sterritt, S. W.	Carlisle.	Naomi Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Sutton, Chas. H.	Manayunk.	Manayunk Division, S. of T.
Simpson, J. R.	Huntingdon.	Standing Stone Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Spayd, Rev. H. E.	Strasburg.	Presbyterian Church.
Sheaffer, Henry C.	Pottsville.	Asylum of Mercy.
Seiders, Mary.	Reading.	Reading Lodge, I. O. G. T.
Smith, John A.	Lancaster.	Centenary Miss'n Sabbath School
Sypher, J. R.	Philadelphia.	Young Men's Christ'n Associat'n
Styles, S. H.	West Burlington.	Rock Lodge.
Stebbins, Geo.	Marietta.	Marietta Temperance Society.
Stebbins, Dr. Sumner.	Unionville.	State Temperance Union.
Scott, C. W.	Connellsville.	Connellsville Lodge.
Silsbie, J. B.	Seranton.	Crystal Fount Lodge.
Summers, Daniel.	Harrisburg.	Calvary Sabbath School.
Santo, J. H.	Harrisburg.	Seventh Ward.
Shauer, J. F.	Philadelphia.	Welcome Division, S. of T.
Small, D. E.	York.	York Co. Temperance Society.
Steven, D. M.	Harrisburg.	7th Baptist Church.
Schaffer, Wm. S.	Harrisburg.	Harris Division, S. of T.
Spangler, Barr.	Marietta.	Hygiene Lodge.
Sheerer, N. H.	York.	York Co. Temperance Society.
Stone, C. W.	Warren.	Conewango Lodge.
Taylor, Samuel B., jr.	Taylorsville.	Dolington Lodge I. O. G. T.
Turner, Rev. C. F.	Lancaster.	First M. E. Church.

NAMES.	POST-OFFICE.	REPRESENTATIVE FROM
Thompson, Dr. James P.....	Williamsburg.....	State Temperance Union.....
Tannier, Wm.....	Philadelphia.....	Franklin Division S. of T.....
Tyler, L. A.....	Montrose.....	East Bridgewater Lodge.....
Taylor, John F.....	West Philadelphia.....	Railroad Division S. of T.....
Twinning, A. M.....	Doylestown.....	Bucks County Convention.....
Thompson, Rev. C. L.....	Harrisburg.....	Locust Street M. E. Church.....
Vorse, Thomas.....	Edinboro'.....	Edinboro' Lodge I. O. G. T.....
Vanderslice, J. M.....	Philadelphia.....	Quaker City.....
Wilson, Andrew W.....	Indiana.....	Indiana Co. Temp. Convention...
Wright, Miss Ellen L.....	Lancaster.....	Lan. Co. Dis. Con., I. O. G. T.....
Wilson, John.....	Philadelphia.....	Hamilton Social Temple.....
Weir, Judah.....	Philadelphia.....	Morning Star Division S. of T.....
Wagner, George E.....	Philadelphia.....	Philadelphia Temp. Society.....
Wisner, Jacob.....	Phoenixville.....	
Webb, James H.....	East Smithfield.....	East Smithfield Lodge.....
Williams, John.....	Harrisburg.....	Free Baptist Church.....
Wright, T. S. M.....	Safe Harbor.....	M. E. Church.....
Wisner, George E.....	Lancaster.....	Union Lodge.....
Weaver, H. E.....	Huntingdon.....	Huntingdon Temple.....
Yeo, W.....	St. Clair.....	Eagle Temple.....
Young, D. M.....	Freidensville.....	Rose of Valley Lodge.....
Young, J. C.....	Harrisburg.....	M. E. S. School.....
Young, J. H.....	Littlestown.....	S. T. M. Society.....

[Paper B.]

AN ACT

TO ENABLE THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA TO DETERMINE
WHETHER THE GENERAL SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS
SHALL BE PERMITTED.

WHEREAS, All laws to be efficient should have the approbation and support of the people.

AND, WHEREAS, It is represented that a majority of the legal voters of certain counties, cities, boroughs, wards and townships desire the passage of a law that shall, in such districts, forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and confine such sales to medicinal, sacramental, artistic and mechanical purposes.

AND, WHEREAS, It is desirable to obtain a certain indication of popular sentiment in regard to such sales.

Therefore

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the courts of quarter sessions of the several counties of this Commonwealth, upon petition of at least one fourth of the number of legal voters of any district in this Commonwealth, as determined by the number of votes at the last general election held previous to the presentation of said petition setting forth the desire of said petitioners, that a vote of the legal voters of the district of which the said petitioners are residents, may be had to deter-

mine whether or not the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be allowed in said district, except for medicinal, sacramental, artistic and mechanical purposes, as provided for in this act; shall order and direct an election to be held at the election in said district so petitioning next ensuing after the presentation of said petition, or at such special election as the said Court may order, the time and place for which shall be named in said order, and it shall be the duty of the inspectors and judges of election in said districts at the said general election, to receive tickets, either written or printed, from the legal voters thereof, labelled on the outside, "Sale of Liquors," and on the inside "For the sale of Liquors" or "Against the sale of Liquors," and to deposit said tickets in a box provided for that purpose by said inspectors and judges, as is required by law, in case of other tickets received at said election, and the said tickets so received shall be counted, and a return of the same made to the clerk of the said court duly certified as is required by law, which certificates shall be laid before the judges of the said court at the first meeting of said court after such election shall be held, and shall be filed with the other records of said court.

SECTION 2. That the said petitions shall be verified by the affidavits of two or more of the petitioners, and shall be presented to said court at least sixty days before the time of holding said election, and the said court shall issue their order for the holding of said election at least thirty days before said time; a copy of said order shall be furnished the sheriff or other officer whose duty it is to give the legal notice for holding such annual elections, who shall give notice to the legal voters of said district of the said order of said court authorizing a vote upon the sale of liquors in said district; the sheriff or other officer, and the clerk of said court shall be entitled to the same fees as is by law allowed for similar services.

SECTION 3. That in receiving and counting, and in making returns of the votes cast, the said inspectors, judges and clerks of said election shall be governed by the laws of this Commonwealth regulating general elections, and all penalties of the said election laws are hereby extended to and shall apply to the voters, inspectors, judges and clerks voting at and attending upon elections held under the provisions of this act.

SECTION 4. That whenever by the returns of said election in any district voting as aforesaid, it shall appear that there is a majority of the votes then cast on the sale of liquors against the sale of liquors, then, and in that case, the said court shall so declare by proper minute, to be recorded in the minutes of said court, and thereafter in such district this act shall be in full force and effect, and it shall be unlawful for any person to sell intoxicating liquors within said district except as hereinafter provided. *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed to forbid such sales by

any person duly licensed by license granted before the issue of the order of said court authorizing the said vote as aforesaid for the unexpired term for which the said license may have been granted. *Provided, further,* That no bill or indictment preferred or found against any person or persons for violation of the laws of this Commonwealth shall not be annulled by reason of the passage of this act, or its adoption by any district of this Commonwealth. If, however, it shall appear that said returns show a majority of the votes cast at said election for the sale of liquors in said district, then this act shall not be in force in said district, but the laws in force and applicable governing the sale of liquors shall be held to apply and be in force therein.

SECTION 5. The word district, in sections two, three, and four of this act, shall be held to include either a county, city, borough, ward, or township.

SECTION 6. No person shall, by himself, his clerk, servant or agent, directly or indirectly, barter or sell any spiritous or intoxicating liquors, or any mixed liquor, part of which is intoxicating, unless he is authorized, as provided in this act. Ale, porter, strong beer, lager beer, cider, and all wines and every other alcoholic fluid adapted for use as a beverage, shall be included in the meaning of this act, as well as distilled spirits, but this enumeration shall not prevent any other pure or mixed liquors from being regarded as intoxicating.

SECTION 7. Whoever, by himself, clerk, servant or agent, directly or indirectly, or on any pretense whatever, or by any device sells, or in consideration of the gift purchase or transfer of any other property, gives to another person spiritous or intoxicating liquor in violation of this act, shall for one violation, upon conviction in any Court of Quarter Sessions, pay a fine of ten dollars, and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than twenty nor more than thirty days. For a second violation in the same or any other county of this Commonwealth, he shall pay twenty dollars and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than thirty, nor more than sixty days, and for any subsequent violation shall pay fifty dollars and be imprisoned not less than three nor more than six months, and if in any case the fine and costs are not paid, the imprisonment shall be extended thirty days. Whoever in the employment or on the premises of another violates any provision of this act shall be held equally guilty and suffer the same penalty.

SECTION 8. In all cases under this act delivery of intoxicating liquors in or from any building or place other than a private dwelling house or its dependencies, if part of the same is a tavern, public eating house, grocery store, shop or other place of common resort, shall be deemed prima facie evidence of and punishable as a sale and a delivery of such liquor in or from a private dwelling house, with payment or promise of

payment either expressed or implied, or before or after such delivery, shall be deemed *prima facie* evidence of, and punishable as a sale according to this act.

SECTION 9. If any person is found in a state of intoxication in any place, public or otherwise, committing a breach of the peace, or disturbing others by noise, any sheriff, deputy sheriff, police officer, or constable shall, without warrant, take him into custody, and detain him in some proper place until the person is so far recovered from his intoxication as to render it proper to carry the party before a court of justice; the officer shall then take such person before an alderman, justice of the peace, or a judge of a court having jurisdiction in the place, and shall make complaint against him for the crime of drunkenness; if such person then discloses fully the name of the person of whom, and the time, place and manner in which the liquor causing his intoxication was procured, and all the circumstances attending it, the alderman, justice or court shall administer to such person the oath or affirmation provided to witnesses, and interrogate him in the presence of the officer, and if it appears that either of the offences specified in this act have been committed, the officer shall file his complaint for the commission of offence before said court, alderman or justice of the peace against the person who appears to have been guilty thereof, and the person so disclosing shall be named as one of the witnesses; the officer thereupon shall discontinue his persecution for drunkenness, and the person arrested shall be finally and fully discharged.

SECTION 10. Every mayor, alderman, justice, sheriff, deputy sheriff, police or constable who has information that any intoxicating liquor is kept and sold in any tent, shanty, booth or similar place, or on or near the grounds of any cattle show, agricultural exhibition, vendue, camp meeting or any other kind of public gathering, shall arrest the keeper and seller of such liquor, and take him before some alderman or justice of the peace, and make complaint for the arrest and trial of such person according to the provisions of this act.

SECTION 11. All cases under this act, whether by action, indictment or complaint, which comes before any court by original entry or appeal, shall take precedence in said courts of all other business, except in those criminal cases in which the parties are actually imprisoned, awaiting trial, and the prosecuting attorney shall not enter a *nolle prosequi* or grant a continuance in any case before or after a verdict, except when the purposes of justice may require it to be shown upon a written notice, filed in the case in behalf of the defendant, or a written statement filed by the prosecuting officer stating the reason for continuance, and he shall not enter a *nolle prosequi* except with the concurrence of the court in cases under this act, before an alderman or justice of the peace;

no admission of the defendant, except a plea of guilty made in the court, shall be received on the trial without the consent of the prosecutor.

SECTION 12. All payment or compensations for intoxicating liquors sold in violation of this act, or any other law of this Commonwealth, whether in money or otherwise, shall be held to have been received without consideration, and against law, equity and good conscience, no action of any kind shall be had or maintained in any court for the price of liquor sold in any other State for the purpose of being brought into this Commonwealth, to be here kept and sold in violation of law, when the vender would have reasonable cause to believe that the purchaser entertained such illegal purpose, and all bills of exchange, promissory notes and other securities for and evidences of debt given in whole or in part for the price of liquor sold in violation of this act, shall be void against all persons holding the same with the notice of such illegal consideration, either direct or implied by law.

SECTION 13. The courts of quarter sessions in the various counties of the Commonwealth, shall, at the first convenient session in the year, annually appoint one or more agents to purchase and sell, at the most convenient places in the said county, spirituous or intoxicating liquors to be used in the arts, for medicinal, chemical, or mechanical purposes, and no other; every such agent shall conform to such rules and regulations as the court may prescribe, not inconsistent with this act.

SECTION 14. Every agent shall receive from the court appointing him, a certificate of authority to purchase and sell, at such places as shall be therein set forth, such liquors, and for such purposes as are named in this act; but said certificates shall not be given him, until he has executed and given to said court, a bond with two good and sufficient sureties, in the sum of one thousand dollars for the faithful performance of his duties; the clerk of said courts shall keep a record of all the agents appointed by the courts which shall be open to public inspection at all reasonable times.

SECTION 15. Upon complaint made to the court, the court shall notify the agent, and if upon hearing of the parties, it appears that the agent has violated the conditions of his appointment, the court shall revoke his authority, and at the expense of the county, shall cause his bond to be put in suit, or the court may put such bond in suit without such complaint, notice or hearing.

SECTION 16. Each agent shall keep an account of all liquors purchased by him, and shall specify the kind and quality, the price paid the persons of whom purchased, and the date of each purchase. He shall also keep a book and enter therein the date of every sale made by him, the person to whom sold, the kind, quantity, and price thereof, and purpose for which it was sold, which book shall at all times be open to the in-

spection of the mayor and alderman, the overseers of the poor, sheriff, justices of the peace, constables, and policemen in the county or city wherein the liquor is sold.

SECTION 17. Each and every agent appointed by the courts shall purchase only of importers of well-known standing and character, and such other persons as shall be named by the court, and any agent purchasing any such liquor from any other person, or selling any such liquor purchased by him to any person other than for purposes named in this act, shall be liable to the penalties provided in this act for being a common seller according to section seven.

SECTION 18. Whoever, purchasing intoxicating liquor of any agent, intentionally makes a false statement regarding the use for which the liquor is intended to be applied shall pay a fine of not less than five nor more than twenty dollars, to be recovered as fines of like amount are recoverable by law.

SECTION 19. The importer of liquors of foreign production imported under the authority of the United States, may own, possess, keep, or sell the same in the original packages in which it was imported, and in quantities not less than the quantities in which the laws of the United States require such liquor to be imported, and if sold by him, it shall be as pure and unadulterated as when imported.

SECTION 20. Druggists may sell for medicinal purposes only, pure alcohol to other druggists, apothecaries, and physicians, known to be such; *Provided*, That they shall keep a book in which they shall enter the date and quantity of every sale, the name and residence of the purchaser, and if exported, the place to which exported and the name of the consignee, which book shall at all times be open to public inspection; if any druggist, or the clerk or agent of a druggist is convicted of an illegal sale, he shall pay a fine of one hundred dollars.

SECTION 21. A chemist, artist, or manufacturer in whose trade or art they may be necessary, may keep at his place of business intoxicating liquors for use in such trade or art, but not for sale and any person may manufacture or sell cider for other purposes than that of a beverage and unadulterated wine for sacramental purposes.

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPERANCE UNION.

THIRD ANNUAL SESSION.

The Third Annual Session was held at Harrisburg, (in the Court House), on Wednesday, February 9th, 1870, at 8.50 a. m., President, James Black, in the Chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer, by Rev. E. W. Kirby.

Rev. Pennell Coombe read his special report of the labors performed by him during the past year.

On motion the report was accepted.

The report of the Board of Managers was read as far as completed, and other information presented to be incorporated therein.

On motion the President, Secretary, and Financial Agent were authorized to prepare a general report of the work done in this State, and the progress of the cause in other States, out of the materials presented, and publish the same in the Proceedings.

The report of the Board of Managers was then adopted.

REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPERANCE UNION FOR 1869.

With devout gratitude to Almighty God, for His blessing on our labors during another year, the Managers present their third annual report to the members of the Pennsylvania State Temperance Union and to the citizens of the State at large.

ACTION OF THE BOARD.

A meeting of the Board was held in Philadelphia on the 18th of March to dispose of the several matters referred to them at the

last annual meeting. William Nicholson was elected Resident Secretary, and Rev. Pennell Coombe, placed in the position of General Corresponding Secretary, to travel at large through the State. Application was made to the Philadelphia Annual Conference, at whose request Mr. Coombe was set apart by the Presiding Bishop to this work, thus securing to him the joint authority of the State Union, and the Church of which he is a minister.

The proceedings of the State Convention, of 1869, and the report of the State Union, were printed by Messrs. Pearsol and Geist of Lancaster, their offer being the lowest of all others made. The documents ordered to be printed by the State Convention, together with a draft of a General Prohibitory Law, prepared as directed by Messrs. Black, Cessna, and Nicholson, were also published with the above-named proceedings and report.

CHARACTER OF THE WORK DONE.

This has consisted of sermons on the Sabbath, mostly the several churches united in the same services, addresses to one or more of the Sabbath-schools in union; lectures in Churches and halls during the week, and to many of the week-day schools, through the State. The work performed on the Sabbath has been not only the most important, but it has been attended with the most beneficial results. The sanctity of the day, the influence of the pulpit and the authority of THE BIBLE, have all been *combined* in their influence to awaken the conscience and to enlighten the judgment of christians and others who attend religious service. Not only so, but the temperance preacher reaches a very large number of persons on the Sabbath who otherwise would seldom hear the subject of temperance discussed.

The work in the Sabbath-schools is also of the highest moment. We have the Divine authority for expecting certain results from sowing good seed on this peculiar soil. "Train up a child in the way that he should go," (*while he is a child*) and it will be very difficult for even the temptations of governmental license, social drink customs, or the allurements of the fashionable dram shop to undo the work effected by his early abstinence training. Mr. Coombe asserts, as the result of over thirty year's experience in teaching and pledging children, that those who take the pledge in childhood, *keep it much better than those pledged in after life.*

Mr. Coombe has preached 122 sermons during the year, and he and the other officers of the Union have occupied not less than 200 different churches, embracing those of every leading Protestant denomination of the State.

AGENTS EMPLOYED AND WORK DONE.

It is to be deeply regretted that the funds collected have not enabled the Board to increase the number of men for preaching and lecturing the present year, but had the funds been in hand, or if there had been any certainty of obtaining them, the Society might have had the services of some of the best ministers in the State. With our limited funds, we have had but two men under pay, viz: Mr. William Nicholson and Rev. P. Coombe.

In the month of April Mr. Nicholson took a position in the public service, and was therefore under pay but four months. His salary ceased the 1st of May, since which time he has served as Resident Secretary, and done considerable work in lecturing without expense to the Society. He has delivered 93 addresses, in ten counties, and collected \$392.90.

Mr. Coombe has been at work during the whole year, and has delivered 303 sermons and addresses in 29 counties, and collected \$2,361.45.

Mr. Black (our president) has delivered 15 addresses, making the total number of sermons and addresses by the officers of the State Union, 411. Besides these, quite a number of meetings were held, and addresses made by others under the direction of the officers of the Society. The whole number of meetings held through the State Union during the year was about 450.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

In addition to their other labors the Secretaries are required to raise funds, and the money raised this year has been attained chiefly by them. Mr. L. S. Kauffman, as Financial Agent, has raised some money without cost to the society, but has found it inexpedient to incur as much expense in his efforts to collect funds this year as he did the former. This gentleman deserves great credit for his former efforts to increase the finances of the Union at no little loss to himself of both time and money. The account for the year stands thus.

RECEIPTS.

Cash received from State Convention at Harrisburg,	-	\$200.20
“ “ for stock sold by Mr. Nicholson,	- - -	8.75
Collected by Mr. L. S. Kauffman,	- - - - -	218.48
“ “ W. Nicholson,	- - - - -	392.90
“ “ Rev. P. Coombe,	- - - - -	2,361.45
Total,	- - - - -	<u>\$3,181.78</u>

EXPENSES.

Office rent, printing reports and circulars, postage, railroad fare, stationery, calling Convention, &c., paid by Mr. Nicholson,	\$404.31
Salary of W. Nicholson for 4 months,	413.58
Total expenses and salary,	<u>817.89</u>
P. Coombe, expenses, including railroad and stage fare, carriage hire, hotel bills, hall rent, printing, postage, and stationery,	361.45
One year's salary,	2,000.00
Total expense and salary,	2,361.45
Receipts from all sources,	3,181.78
Total expenses,	3,179.34
Balance on hand,	<u>2.44</u>

The table marked A, in the appendix, will show the counties from which the moneys have been obtained, as well as the labor performed in each.

GUARANTEE FUND.

The Managers deeply regret that they are not able to report a hearty and general response to the proposition to raise a fund of \$5000, for the employment of ministerial labor for the cause. Over 500 circulars and cards were sent out to various parties, but the response was very limited. At the same time circulars were sent to the pastors of the churches throughout the State, requesting that temperance sermons be preached, and collections taken for reunion. How many sermons were preached we have not the means of knowing, but only *two* churches reported collections, viz: The First Methodist Episcopal Church, in Lancaster, and the Presbyterian Church, in Providence, Luzerne county.

The neglect with which this request has been treated, is owing mainly to the fact that the churches have not been educated properly on this subject of Temperance Reform, and hence they

do not feel the necessity of placing this cause among those religious objects which deserve their support. Another reason is, that the State Union has not been brought to their notice so that christians generally could understand its objects, and realize its importance, as a means of reaching the masses of the people, and as an agency designed especially for the benefit and coöperation of all the christian denominations. The labors of the past year have given general information as to the real character of the Union, and the effect of this information is seen in the very liberal contributions made to Mr. Coombe, whose field of operation has been principally among the churches, from which by far the largest proportion of his support has been obtained. As we expect to make another appeal to the church during the coming year, we may reasonably expect still greater interest, and a still larger amount of assistance from all branches of the christian family. This, it should be recollected, is the *first* effort ever made in this State to put the church in its proper position, as the *leader* in the Temperance Reform. The very mention of this design has already been hailed with joy by christian pastors and people, and it is generally admitted that if we can succeed in forming the religious denominations into a combined and common brotherhood, the triumph of the Reform is certain and speedy. That we will succeed is only a question of time, and as that fact becomes certain, we shall not only have the prayers of the churches, but their money also, to hasten the consummation of our desires. May God hasten the day!

FUNDS A NECESSITY.

The want of funds to supply suitable men by the Union has been most sensibly felt, and our success is greatly retarded on this account. *Twenty* men of fervent spirit, eloquent speech, and earnest labor, ought to be constantly traveling the State. Such men would not only reach the ear, but they would stir the conscience, and convince the judgment of the people, could the means be obtained; the temperance work is a field promising such good results, that ministers of position, and of talent and piety in the churches could be had to serve this noble cause. But the claims of family and present employment, will not justify them in accepting our calls for service, without a certainty of support, equal at best, to their present income. It should be a greater compensation than

that received for ordinary pastoral service, because of the greater sacrifice involved. It is due to the gentlemen now employed to say that they deserve no little credit for their devotion to the cause itself, which has induced them at times to labor on under the most trying circumstances, receiving the fitful contributions too often presented in the light of charity.

Will not the friends of this God-like cause rally to the support of the State Union, this year, and furnish us the funds to carry on our work more extensively than ever.

Mr. Coombe, in his special report to the Board, makes a suggestion that is worthy of attention, viz: *That each Manager, during the present year, should strive to raise at least one hundred dollars for the Union.* This he thinks could be done by most, if not all the members of the Board, by private appeals to personal friends. If this or any thing near to it, could be reached, the Union would be relieved from all further embarrassment and become one of the very best State organizations in the country.

REPORT OF THE CAUSE IN THIS STATE.

In asking the more liberal support of the Union by the friends of the cause, it is but proper that they be informed as to the fact of *results* of former labors. This we are happy to say we are able to show in the most satisfactory manner. To the work among the churches we shall give a special department under its own heading, and to that chapter we ask attention.

In regard to the Union itself, we have added, during the year, 140 Annual and 80 Life members; 12 Life Patrons (mostly churches) and 5 Auxiliaries. As the annual members pay a dollar per year, should they continue thus to increase, it will greatly aid the funds of the society.

In regard to local prohibition in this State, there is very great progress, and we regret that we have not the data on hand, at present, to give *all* the places where the liquor traffic has been abolished by special statute. Not less than twenty towns and boroughs, and one entire county have those laws. Among them we name the following: Potter county has had prohibition for the last ten years, with the most pleasing results, and "now has *neither jail nor criminal*. In Armstrong county they have three boroughs under prohibition, viz: Freeport, Apollo and Leechburg. In Crawford

county they have two, viz: Conneautville and Spring. In Indiana, Mansville and Saltsburg. In Erie, Girard. In Perry, we have Duncannon. In Delaware, Media, the county seat. To this list more will soon be added, as the people are moving rapidly in this direction, and will not be satisfied without legal protection from the evils of liquor selling. In all these places the most *beneficial* results have followed the abolition of the legal sale of intoxicating drinks.

The growth of public sentiment is still more marked by the constantly increasing number of the towns where all license has been refused by the courts, through the direct action of the people. In several counties no License Judges have been elected. In others, the Courts grant no license where there is a remonstrance, and thus the legalized sale of intoxicating liquors is being gradually, but rapidly, abolished by the people. Mr. Coombe lately passed through twenty-two towns in the course of a single month; of these four only had license, three had local prohibition, and fifteen had "no license." In several of these places there had been no temperance meeting for from ten to fifteen years, and Mr. Coombe spoke to many adults who had never heard a temperance lecture before. The opposition to license was the result of education *before* the slavery agitation broke up the system of instruction then general throughout the nation.

The progress of temperance principles is shown by still another fact, viz: the Legislature is now besieged with petitions for redress and legal protection, in greater numbers and much more numerously signed than for many years. To such an extent is this the case, that many members of the Legislature, though not identified with the cause, admit that something *must* be done to satisfy the demands of the people. The case has reached a point at which even politicians *feel* the necessity of legislative interference, to meet the growing power of the temperance element.

And last, but not least, we mention another evidence of the advancement of our cause, viz: *The growing determination to organize an independent political party, with temperance for its fundamental features.* Whatever individuals may be disposed to think of the propriety of this policy, there is no thoughtful mind who can fail to see in it, not only progress of principle, but an unmistakable *determination* to submit no longer to the dominion of mere politi-

ticians and liquor drinkers. The people bitterly feel the need of legal protection, and they *will have it* even if they have to bury every political organization, that opposes them, in the gulf of oblivion. They are weary seeing their fathers, brothers and sons driven like sheep to the slaughter before the demon of alcohol.

The political parties of the day, would do well to heed this movement, for though they may laugh it to scorn, and even many good temperance men may denounce it; the stern fact still remains, and that is, that the present political organizations are doomed to destruction unless they take some speedy action to protect society from the evils of legalized liquor ruling. Without in any way endorsing the movement, or to any extent making the State Union responsible for its existence; we record the following facts in the history of Independent Partyism for the benefit of all concerned, and simply an evidence of progressive sentiment.

“A very large number of the most consistent temperance men of the nation have lost all confidence in the *disposition* of the present political organization to aid in the suppression of intemperance. They sincerely believe, that both parties have ‘sold out to the liquor organizations.’ Hence a large number of the temperance papers of the country are advocating not only the propriety but the *absolute necessity* of temperance men ignoring all other questions in politics until this great issue is settled. Men may say, ‘they are mad,’ but if so, there is both logic and method in their madness. They say, (and who can deny it) that the question of intemperance is the most momentuous issue ever submitted to the American people, that while the questions which divide politicians involves only temporal results, this one destroys the hopes and aims of man’s spiritual and higher nature. While questions of finance and other features of political economy may disturb the order of Government, Intemperance makes a demon of man in this life, and ruins his soul in that which is to come. And it must be borne in mind, that the question of *expediency alone* prevents a large majority of temperance men from ignoring all party lines, for the sake of a cause which they hold forms a part of Religion itself. Already Conventions have been held in the interest of the movement in several of the States. A National Convention also was held in Chicago, in September last, which actually put into existence a National Pro-

hibition party, and portions of the friends of temperance in several of the States have adopted its platform.

These are facts, and very significant facts, too. The enemies of temperance may rejoice in this, because it will injure, instead of advance, the cause. This may be true, but it will injure the political parties *more*. While it may divide the temperance men, it will *ruin* the politicians, and the wisest, safest and best thing the political parties can do is to take the question out of party politics and *submit it directly to the people as a separate and distinct issue*.

In addition to the above, which we have given as an item of general information, we now mention a still more significant fact, as a warning to the political parties, viz: The late movement in

ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

About three years since the politicians of this county asked and obtained of the Legislature a special law, which took the power of granting license out of the Courts, and placed it in the hands of three County Commissioners, one of whom was to be elected annually by the people. This change was made under the plea that it would take the question out of party politics, and give the people the opportunity of raising the issue without disturbing any party question. The Republican party having a very large majority in the county, the Commissioners were of course all Republicans. These men so abused and prostituted their office that the number of grog shops increased, in less than three years, from about 550 to 1,129. Against this state of things the Temperance Republicans remonstrated in vain. At the nominating Convention of 1869, both political parties nominated candidates for Commissioner, who were in the interest of the liquor party, and the Republican candidate was especially so. The Temperance men then called a convention, irrespective of party, and placed in nomination, for Commissioner, a christian Republican, and a man above reproach. A very warm contest ensued, the county was canvassed, public meetings were held, and though all the Republican papers denounced the movement, and urged the voters to adhere to their party candidate, *he was defeated*, in spite of the party majority of over eight thousand votes. This is not only a proof of progress, but it is a warning to politicians which they would do well to notice in the future.

We have given the above as items of general information in proof of the progress of temperance principles during the past year, in our State. We now turn to another feature of progress, still more significant and important, viz:

OUR WORK AMONG THE CHURCHES.

Mr. Coombe has been operating mainly with and through the churches during the past year, and we give his report to the Board of Managers, as containing the facts in relation to the religious denominations. He says:

“With rarely an exception, the various denominations of christians have freely opened their churches to me for sermons on the Sabbath, and lectures during the week, and with great unanimity have coöperated in my work. They have also arranged for children’s meetings on sabbath afternoons, in which all the Sabbath-schools of the towns have united, and these meetings have every where created the most intense interest. The churches cordially approve the plans and organization of the Penna. State Union, and gladly hail it as a new and efficient method of securing the speedy triumph of our cause. Pastors and people unite in saying that the formation of the State Union leaves the christian churches without an excuse for any future neglect of this reform, as it presents a plan of operation in which they all can work without compromising their principles. The various ecclesiastical bodies throughout the State have, *with rarely an exception*, had the State Union and its plans under consideration, and given it pledges of support by special resolutions. Nearly all these bodies now appoint Committees on Temperance, and direct the pastors and churches to labor for the success of this work, by preaching sermons, holding meetings, and in all suitable ways to coöperate with the agents employed by the various temperance organizations. The United Presbyterian church has endorsed the State Union, and pledged its coöperation with its plans and purposes. I mention this church particularly, because it is well known that being opposed to *all* ‘secret societies,’ they are exceedingly cautious in their action, and endorse nothing without due deliberation. The following are the resolutions passed by the Synod of that church, held at Allegheny City in 1867.

“*Resolved*, That the object sought by the Pennsylvania State Temper-

ance organization, at Harrisburg, Feb. 27th, 1867, viz: to promote total abstinence from intoxicating beverages, and secure the total abolition of the traffic in such beverages, is in accordance with cherished principles of this church.

Resolved, That we recommend to our members, congregations and ministers, for their co-operation in every manner consistent with their principles, the general efforts now made for temperance reform, and commend to their favor the open organizations of the State Temperance Union and its auxiliaries.

Resolved, That we urge activity in this good work of temperance reform, and especially by combined effort, on ground common to all, and entertain the hope that by the union of all moral forces, and especially those of all Christian churches, the evils of intemperance may be speedily restricted, and the cause of good order and religion vastly promoted.

R. H. BROOME, Chairman.

Another sign of progress among the Churches is seen in the fact that the "Wine Question" is receiving much attention among them. Very many of the Churches now use only the pure juice of the grape in the Communion, instead of the poisonous compounds so long administered by them. Not only so, but they are investigating the proposition to introduce Wine Growing into this country as a preventive of intemperance. The Pittsburg Synod of the Presbyterian Church lately appointed an able committee on this subject, and unanimously adopted their report, which is a paper of great value. This Report has been published in the *Presbyterian Banner*, in 1869, and covers an entire page. It thoroughly ventilates the history of wine-making, showing that it invariably results in an increase of intemperance.

Another proof of progress in the Churches is found in the fact that most of the contributions received by Mr. Coombe, have been obtained from them, showing that they are ready to give money as well as pray for the success of the cause. This state of things among the Christians of the State should cause great rejoicing among the friends of Temperance, for in the language of the Saratoga Convention of 1865: "our main reliance must be on the religious principle, and the co-operation of the Christian community."

Mr. Coombe has occupied 156 different Churches during the year. In these are embraced all the leading and most of the smaller Protestant denominations. Nor is the Roman Catholic Church idle in this work. In many places the Priest makes tem-

perance a condition of communion, and where this is the case, all the membership follow without exception. The Catholic Church in the city of Erie is doing a noble work in this direction, and no one there is admitted to the Sacrament without taking the pledge.

COMBINATION AND CONCENTRATION.

The principal work of the State Union is to *combine* and *concentrate* the power of all the friends of the cause, so as to make it *available* in our contest with the various but *combined* organizations of the Liquor party. This is the *vital* feature of our present plans throughout the whole country. "*Union, UNION,*" is now the watchword everywhere, and of every real friend of the cause.

Heretofore we have thrown away much of our strength, by dividing our forces, and neglecting to form a *common* Bond of Brotherhood and Union. The churches have had no bond of union between themselves, and have lost much of their power for want of it. The same was true of the various Temperance organizations; each one acted for itself almost entirely. If we united in State or County Conventions, we met and parted without putting into operation any *plan* by which our *whole power* could be brought to bear on the public mind, in producing any given result. In the meantime our enemies have completed their organizations, and *combined* them for *one* object, with pledges of mutual support, and this *concentration* of influence is a *terrible* power for evil. The politicians are more afraid of the Liquor party because of its *combination*, they they are of the church and Temperance societies, without any plan of union. Hence, the language of one of our State Senators, who said: "There is more votes in a barrel of whiskey than in the ten commandments," meaning the church by the latter figure, and the liquor party by the former.

The formation of the State Union has changed this state of things, and all over this State our friends hail it with joy, while our enemies tremble with alarm, and many of them admit that if we can *combine* the churches and the temperance societies in any given direction, our power will be *irresistible*. This is *the* work of the State Union, and to it all efforts have been directed. The most flattering success is being received, and it will not be long before the combination will be complete, and then our triumph will be certain and speedy. Let every friend of the cause do all

in his power to promote this union of effort, and the "triumphing of the wicked will be short."

EDUCATION NEEDED BY YOUNG MEN.

It is a lamentable fact that intemperance is fearfully prevalent among the young men of the country at the present time. The cause of this is not generally understood, and it lies in the following facts: Previous to 1854, the temperance education of the people was so far advanced that *fourteen* States had taken very advanced action in favor of this cause. *Twelve* of these States had passed laws either prohibitory entirely, or greatly restricting the liquor traffic, while Ohio and Michigan have made Prohibition a part of their Constitution. Then the young men of the nation were among the strongest advocates of temperance, but when, in 1854, the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the Kansas, Nebraska Acts were passed, the question of Slavery became the leading national issue, and the public mind became absorbed by it. The friends of temperance being for the most part anti-slavery, were willing, for the time, to give up the work of temperance reform, and yielded the ground to the more absorbing agitation thus forced upon the nation.

From that time the holding of temperance meetings, and the work of temperance education began to decline, and at the beginning of the war, and through its progress, was abandoned almost altogether. At the close of the war in 1865, the temperance cause was reconstructed by the Saratoga Convention. From 1854 to 1869, (a period of 14 years,) another generation has come upon the stage of action in business and political life. Men who are now 25 and 30 years of age, in 1854 were boys of 11 and 16 years. These have grown up without the benefit of our former system of education, and in this fact alone is to be found the strongest reason of the drinking habits of many of our leading working and business men. The present generation are therefore far behind the former in temperance knowledge and practice. With the masses, the work of temperance education has to be done over again. But we have not now to contend with many of the errors of the past, and have the developments of later years to help us in our labor, which will make our work more easy and our progress more rapid. But it is education still, and it will take time to impart the neces-

sary information to prepare the people for the work of prohibition. There is therefore no cause of discouragement when we do not progress as rapidly as many desire and expect.

WORK OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

As the State Union is the head and representative of all the temperance societies in the State, one part of its duty is, as far as possible, to collect and publish their statistics. In addition to this we now propose to give some account of two forms of organization, not before noticed, viz: Church societies, and "The Temperance Blessing." In doing this we specially recommend to the churches the adoption of the first we shall name, *The Temperance Society of the Presbyterian Church of the Northern Liberties*, in the city of Philadelphia. The following facts from its President, Hiram Ward, Esq., will set forth its nature and results.

"The Temperance Society of the First Presbyterian church of the Northern Liberties, Rev. Dr. Shepherd, pastor, was organized the 15th of January, 1868, and has been in active operation for two years. During the first year we held 48 meetings; the second, 52. During these two years we obtained 1,258 signatures to the pledge, and still are going on prosperously. Our mode of proceeding is to open with prayer and singing, and then have ten minute speeches, interspersed with singing. We have generally six or eight speeches on the subject of temperance. Our pastor is heart and soul with us, so are Elders, and most of our church members, a few only refuse their aid and support. We have come to the conclusion that temperance principles will never prevail until every church in the land makes temperance a part of their church work, just as much as the religious lecture and the prayer meeting.

"N. B.—We consider the circulation of the pledge at every meeting as indispensable."

The Temperance Blessing is a society started the 10th of Nov., 1868, by Mr. Charles Henitage, of Philadelphia. It holds its meetings in Independence Hall, every Tuesday evening, and its object is to save persons who are given to drinking habits. Many whose cases were considered as hopeless, have been restored to society, and are now filling positions of honor and profit. Fifty-six meetings have been held in the Hall, and 812 names obtained to

the pledge. They also held an Anniversary meeting in Concert Hall, Dec. 4, 1869, at which Hon. Joseph Allison presided. This meeting was largely attended, and addressed by eminent advocates of the cause. They held a Watch Night Dec. 31, and intend to have a grand demonstration on the 22d of Feb., 1870.

From the CADETS OF TEMPERANCE we have the following: "William Davis, G. P., B. F. Dennison, G. S., office 633 Catharine st., Phila. No. of sections Jan'y 1st, 1869, 26; at Dec. 31, 1869, increased to 29. Members Jan'y, 1869, 2,200; at Dec. 31st, 1869, increased to 2,750."

SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

From the Sons of Temperance, we present the following report of the Grand Scribe:

No. of Divisions, January, 1869,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	108
" " " December 31, 1869, (increase 8,)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	116
" " Members, January, 1869,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,569
" " " December 31, 1869, (increase, 626,)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,195
" " Public meetings during the year,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	345

There have been employed during the year *three* lecturers whose aggregate terms of service occupied twelve mouths, receiving for their labor, one thousand dollars. On the whole, the Sons of Temperance are encouragingly prosperous, and since the beginning of 1870 the signs are very much more encouraging.

JOHN C. MAGUIGAN,
Grand Scribe.

February 1st, 1870.

GOOD TEMPLARS.

From the Good Templars, we have the following report received from the G. W. S., Miss S. Ellen Wright.

No. of Lodges in 1869,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	429
" " Members in 1869.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,516
" " Public meetings during the year,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,200
" " Regular Lecturers employed,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
" " Occasional " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Amount expended for lectures, over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$10,080

TEMPLE OF HONOR AND TEMPERANCE.

From the Temple of Honor and Temperance, we have received no official information, but we understand that the Order is making steady progress, issued quite a large number of charters last year and has done a good work for the cause.

As our Annual Report of last year contained several very valuable chapters, which, owing to the limited number of copies pub-

lished, have not yet reached many of our citizens, we reprint them in the Report for 1869.

LIQUOR ORGANIZATIONS.

No one thing has done more to awaken the public mind to the necessity of earnest and combined efforts to protect society from the evils of the liquor traffic, than the boldness with which the liquor party have avowed their determination to control the legislation of the country. They have organized themselves to act as a separate and distinct party, which organization includes not only the opponents of temperance, but also the enemies of the Sabbath. They have also declared their purpose to change our Sabbath customs, and to introduce what they call "the true social life of the Germans." The Brewers' Congress met in Chicago in 1867, and adopted the following platform :

"WHEREAS, The action and influence of the temperance party is in direct opposition to the principles of individual freedom and political equality, upon which our American Union is founded ; therefore

"*Resolved*, That we will use all means to stay the progress of this fanatical party and to secure our individual rights as citizens ; and that we will sustain no candidate of whatever party, in any election, who is in any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause.

"*Resolved*, That we consider it absolutely necessary that our organization should exist in every State and county, and that the same should be connected with all societies and organizations, whose object it is to uphold personal liberty and personal equality.

"*Resolved*, That we will sustain all political papers advocating the true principles of liberty, and that we will use all efforts to make known the true social life of the Germans.

"*Resolved*, That we find it necessary in a business point of view, to patronize only such business men as will work hand-in-hand with us."

These resolutions of the Brewers' Congress form a common platform for the entire liquor party, Whisky Rings, and all. They are quite bold and defiant enough, considered in themselves ; but when the precise character of those *other* "societies and organizations" with which the liquor men intend to unite, is fully understood, the American people will do well to look closely to the movements now in progress. The societies referred to, are those organized for the purpose of destroying the American Sabbath, and we now give their platform, adopted the 16th of August, 1867, at a mass meeting held in Crosby's Opera House, Chicago, which is as follows :

"*Resolved*, That the Sunday and Temperance questions are not simply questions of personal like or dislike, but stern questions of principles concerning civil and religious liberty.

"*Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States entirely ignores

the idea of a State Church, and no State is privileged to pass a law which will compel the individual citizen to recognize any one day as sanctioned because certain religious organizations see fit to do so.

“Resolved, That, for these many reasons, we intend to enjoy the Sunday with our families in our usual way, and that we intend to partake of that which a God more kind than the fanatics has vouchsafed to us.

“Resolved, That we firmly stand as one man by these declarations, and that no party considerations shall lead us to endorse a platform or vote for a man whose course will be in the least doubtful on these cardinal points, and we hope and believe that in case such should be inscribed on the banner of either of the present political parties, that a new party of freedom will arise to which we will join ourselves, and which will take up the question of personal liberty so nobly vindicated by the abolition of slavery, and that will not send us back into darkness and thralldom of soul more abject than the slavery of the body.”

We now have the platform of the opponents of Temperance and the Sabbath, and from their united action it will be seen that there is an absolute necessity for such a society as the State Union, in which the friends of Religion and Humanity may combine their influence to protect their families from the ravages of intemperance and save our American Sabbath from destruction.

THE LICENSE SYSTEM.

The Revenue Reports and other public documents now show more fully than was ever before known, the ruinous policy of legalizing the sale of intoxicating drinks. So terrible have been the revelations made by these reports, that it is with the greatest difficulty we can get the people to realize the enormous expense of the liquor traffic to the citizens of this State. As these reports contain only the *sworn returns* of the liquor dealers themselves, the figures cannot be denounced as the exaggerations of temperance men. It must also be borne in mind that there are large amounts of liquor sold by licensed dealers, that are *not* returned, to which must be added all sales by those who pay no license. Taking these two items, viz: the unreturned and the unlicensed sales together, and they would make an amount at least equal to the official figures.

In the city of Philadelphia alone for 1867, the licensed retail liquor dealers returned \$44,635,840, to which add an equal amount for the unreturned and unlicensed sales, and we have over \$87,000,000 paid in that city as the first cost of the liquor. In the same year Philadelphia paid into the State Treasury about \$185,000 for licenses granted while the paupers and criminals made by liquor drinking cost the tax-payers of that city \$1,500,000, or an average of *eleven* dollars to each.

In the State of Pennsylvania for 1867, the licensed retail liquor deal-

ers returned over \$152,000,000 as the amount of their sales. If we add to this an equal amount for the unreturned and the unlicensed sales we have over \$300,000,000 as the cost of the liquor alone. For that year our State Government and Common Schools cost about \$10,000,000, or *one* dollar for these expenses and *three hundred* dollars for liquor. During the same year, the State received for liquor license, \$317,742.75, and paid for 16,903 paupers and criminals made by intemperance, the sum of \$2,259,910, or an average of \$5.80 for each vote in the State. When it is recollected that these figures show only the first cost of the liquors, and that there is no account made of the loss of time, or sickness, or the destruction of property caused by liquor drinking, or any other of the indirect expense of this traffic, we may well wonder that the sober and thinking citizens of the State do not rise *en masse* and demand of the Legislature immediate protection from this terrible curse. The only reason which can be assigned for this apathy on the part of the people is their ignorance of the facts in the case. To spread these facts and figures before the people of the State is the object and work of the State Union, and it is being speedily accomplished through our agents and other sources. It cannot be long, therefore, before the people will be convinced of the enormity of the License system, and its overthrow will then follow as a legitimate result.

PROHIBITORY LAW NEEDED.

From the figures given above, it becomes evident that the people of Pennsylvania should not only abolish our present license system, and thus destroy the policy of protecting a business so ruinous to the industrial interests of the State, but that they should also prohibit by law a traffic so productive of pauperism, crime, and woe. No human government has the authority to make that legally right which God's law declares to be morally wrong; and as the Bible pronounces a woe upon him "who putteth the bottle to his neighbor's lips and maketh him drunken," it follows that any government which legalizes the liquor traffic as a beverage, is guilty of a terrible crime against both God and Humanity. To overthrow this self-evident proposition the opponents of Prohibition rely mainly on two arguments:

1st, *Individual rights would be invaded*: If this were true, it is no argument against prohibition, provided the public good requires it. It is a well established principle of government, that individual rights must yield to the public good; but, public good must never be sacrificed to private rights.

The position is *false*. No private right would be invaded. The rights of men under government have their origin in one or more of three kinds of law, viz: natural, common, or statute law.

"Natural law," says Blackstone, "requires that we should live hon-

estly, hurt nobody, and render to every one his due." Can any man sell liquor and not *hurt* his customers? Can he take their money and render them an equivalent? He cannot, and therefore has no *natural* right to sell.

"Common law," says the same author, "declares that no man has a right to use his property to the *injury of another*, and that the *consent* of the party injured is *no mitigation of the offence*." No man can rent his house for the sale of liquor without "using it to injure others." No man can sell liquor as a beverage, and not injure those who consent to take it. Common law, therefore, gives no man the *right* to sell.

Statute law, as it now stands, *does* give men a legal right to sell. The Legislature has done what neither natural nor common law would allow. The liquor seller's right is only a *legislative* right. He holds it at the *will* of the legislature. The power that *gave* can *take the right away*. When this is done the right ceases. Is it not the *duty* of the Legislature to *take away* privileges which experience declares to be destructive to the best interests of society? Gambling, horse-racing and lotteries were once right; according to law they have been prohibited, because pernicious. The liquor traffic is a thousand times more destructive, and should be prohibited also. No *right* will be invaded by doing this. Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, has declared that "No one can claim a license to retail ardent spirits as a matter of right." Judge Coulter of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, has also affirmed the same principle.

But the liquor seller is not the only one who has rights. What becomes of the rights of other people, while the liquor seller is exercising this *legal* right to live by the destruction of his customers? They are *invaded* and *destroyed*. The sober man has the right to raise his sons to sobriety and virtue. The liquor seller ensnares and destroys them. He has the right to travel without unnecessary risk, in the steamboat, stage-coach, and on the railroad. Can he do this with drunken drivers and engineers? He has a right to his own property, but the liquor seller's *customers* steal, burn and destroy it. He has a right to the money he earns by his labor, but the law *compels* him to support the paupers and criminals which the liquor seller makes. No man's life or property is safe while the right to sell liquor is granted by the Legislature. *The liquor sellers are the ARISTOCRACY OF AMERICA.*

Their second argument is, **THE SACRIFICE OF CAPITAL INVESTED.** This is their most *powerful* argument. It is contended that the money now invested in the traffic would be thrown out of employment, and serious injury result to many departments of trade. This is the identical argument used in the British Parliament against the abolition of the slave trade. Col. Tarleton said: "It would annihilate a

trade whose exports amounted to £800,000 annually, and which employed one hundred and sixty vessels, and more than 5,000 seamen. It would destroy the West India trade, which was of the annual value of £6,000,000, and which employed a 160,000 tons of shipping." The representative from the city of London said: "The trade, if it were abolished, would render the city of London *one scene of bankruptcy and ruin*. It becomes the House to take care, while they were giving way to the goodness of their hearts, that they did not contribute to the ruin of the *mercantile interests of their country*." In spite of this cry of *money and ruin*, the slave trade *was* abolished, and no ruin followed. So it would be with the abolition of the liquor traffic as a beverage.

If the statement were true, and the capital lost, it would be no valid argument against prohibition. If there were no such traffic, there would be no pauperism, crime and premature death produced by it. Thousands of men, now worse than useless, would be sober, useful and industrious. Thousands of wives now wretched, would be happy. Thousands of children now ignorant and vicious, would have parents to care for and educate them. Can money compensate the community for the loss of these benefits? The life of one useful and intelligent citizen would outweigh the whole amount invested.

The money invested in this traffic is *already lost—worse than lost*. Does it make hats, coats and shoes to clothe the naked? Does it produce food to feed the hungry? Does it educate our children, and teach them to be virtuous and happy? No! No! No! It is employed to disturb society and wage war against every interest dear to man. If a tempest were to sweep over our State, and destroy in each and every part, the relative proportion of the *three hundred millions* of dollars annually spent for liquor, the State would be in a much better condition than it now is with this traffic. The property would be lost, *only lost*, and the injury would be repaired. The city of Philadelphia has quite recovered from the effects of the fire which consumed whole squares a few years since. The money spent for liquor is not only wasted, but it wastes almost everything else. It is so much capital invested to *destroy* society. It sends thousands to the poor house. It destroys the lives of thousands whose minds are of the highest order. It takes money out of the pocket of every tax payer in the land. The money of the liquor seller is stained with blood, and polluted with crime of every grade. It wrings tears from the eyes of the wife, and groans from the hearts of the orphans. It murders our citizens, and sends their souls to the perdition of ungodly men. And yet we are told that we must not prohibit the traffic, because it destroys capital and injures trade.

CAN PROHIBITORY LAWS BE ENFORCED.

In the States where Prohibitory laws have been tried, *they have been enforced* more effectually than any license law ever was in the same place. For the truth of this statement we shall presently give the most conclusive evidence ; in the meantime, we ask the attention to some facts concerning the enforcement of license laws. The first is, that under license laws, the unlicensed sale has in a vast majority of cases been fully equal to the licensed, and in many of our large towns and cities nearly double. In Philadelphia, according to the Prison Inspector's Report, (Wm. J. Mullen,) there are about 7,700 liquor places, of which only 3,850 pay license, leaving 3,650 selling without license. If under a Prohibitory law this number of liquor sellers could be found, our papers would be constantly pointing out the failure of prohibition, and yet we hear nothing about the failure of the license law, with these facts constantly before them.

The second fact is, that under license laws, the number of arrests for drunkards have very rarely, if ever been diminished, while under prohibitory laws the decrease in the number of these arrests has been very great, as shown by the police reports. The State Police of Massachusetts, in their Report for 1868, say—under Prohibition :

Drunkenness had largely decreased as shown by the records of the various police courts, which were very carefully examined and referred to by all interested parties.

The commitments to the State prison, houses of correction, and jails of this Commonwealth, for the year 1866--7, as shown by the records of these institutions and the Board of State Charities, were very much less for these years, than for several years previous.

It appears, therefore, that license laws do *not* tend to lessen the sale and use of intoxicating beverages, but that such sale and use are always lessened under Prohibition. As the good effects of the Maine law has been disputed by the enemies of prohibition, we will give what ought to be satisfactory proof of its results in support of the above-named positions. The Hon. Woodbury Davis, Judge of the Supreme Court of Maine, says that under the license law in that State

"The sale was permitted in almost every town ; nearly every tavern had its bar, at almost every village and "corner" was a grog-shop, and in most places of that kind more than one, where old men and young spent their evenings in dissipation, men helplessly drunk in the streets, and by the way side, were a common sight, and at elections, at military musters, and trainings, and at other public gatherings, there were scenes of debauchery and riot enough to make one ashamed of his race."

Under Prohibition he says :

"What has become of this mass of corruption and disgusting vice ? It

seems so much like some horrid dream of the past that we can hardly realize that it was real and visible until twenty years ago. The Maine law has swept it away forever. In some of our cities something of the kind may still be seen. But in three-fourths of the towns in this State such scenes would now no more be tolerated than would the revolting orgies of savages. A stranger may pass through, stop at a hotel in each city, walk the streets in some of them, and go away with the belief that our law is a failure. But no observing man who has lived in the State for twenty years and has had an opportunity to know the facts, can doubt that the Maine Law has produced a hundred times more visible improvements in the character, condition, and prosperity of our people, than any other law that was ever enacted."

As a proof that Judge Davis is correct in the above statement, we have the Revenue Reports of Retail Sales in each State, which show that Maine sold in 1867, only *fifteen* dollars per head of her population, while New Jersey, sold sixty-eight dollars per head, under a license law. Maryland, under a license, sold one hundred dollars per head, and California, two hundred and ten dollars per head. These Revenue figures show from four-and-a-half to more than fourteen times as much liquor sold under license than was sold in Maine under prohibition.

Another fact is still more conclusive. Major Jones, Chief Constable of Massachusetts, reports that "*there was not an open grog shop at the close of 1867.*" in that State. But mark, after the change back to license which took place in 1868, there were 2700 grog shops licensed in six months. If we take Vermont, we find nearly the same proportion, she having sold but twenty-three dollars per head under prohibition, while no State in the Union, under license, sold less than New Jersey, which was sixty-eight per head, or about three times as much as Vermont.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY AND PUBLICATION HOUSE.

The Managers feel that their whole duty at this time will not be discharged without urging the importance of circulating as largely as possible Books, Tracts, and Newspapers, devoted mainly or exclusively to Temperance. As an agency, Temperance literature is second in importance only to the living voice. The Temperance reform is not the work of a day or generation; so long as man is prone to error, or influenced by passion, appetite and love of gain, so long will continued special labor for temperance be required. When the seductions and inherent poison of the drink is realized, and the traffic and use of intoxicating liquors is regarded criminal and sinful, and the Commonwealth shall no longer countenance or uphold such traffic, but by adequate laws shall forbid and punish the vendor as it now does murder, theft, gambling, etc., and thus bring the offender within range of moral agency, special efforts or special agencies for Temperance may no longer be required.

Notwithstanding all the light which has for years past been cast upon the guilt of the manufacture and traffic, and the evils, physical and moral, political and social, which are inseparable from the use of alcoholic liquors, the masses of our countrymen are still in darkness. We must pour light into every house in the land. The *living voice* and the *printed page*, aided by *united example*, are Heaven-appointed means for the enlightenment and renovation of the world. The Temperance reform has from its birth engaged the sympathies and talents of many of the ablest writers of Europe and America, and investigations in chemistry, physiology, and medicine have brought to its support the high claims of science, as biblical exegesis has contributed the Bible and Religion. The productions of Edwards, Beecher, Delevan, Nott, Channing, Marsh, Hitchcock, Pierpont, Wayland, Fisk, Smith, Mussey, Sewell, Beaumont, Jewett, Youmans, Barnes, Sargent, Burleigh, Arthur, Thayer, Story, Miner, and many others of this country; and Buckingham, Grindrod, Parsons, Carpenter, Miller, Reid, Kirton, and Lees, of England, should be found in all our libraries, and convenient to all readers or inquirers.

In the words of the State Temperance Convention of 1867, "We hail with satisfaction the organization of the National Temperance Society and Publication House, (located at 172 William street, New York,) the primary object of which is to supply a sound Temperance literature for the Sabbath School, Society, and fireside libraries, as well as the Temperance laborer, and proposing to do for Temperance what the Tract Society, Sunday School Union, and Religious Publication houses have done for religion." Its catalogue now furnishes all the valuable works of able Temperance writers of England and America, to which additions from gifted minds are being constantly added. Its own publications, with those on Temperance selected from the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist Tract Society, Sunday School Union, Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, Publication Houses, now make up a Sunday School Library of eighty volumes.

The Board urgently request pastors of churches and superintendents and teachers of Sunday Schools to place these books in their libraries. Teachers and scholars will read these attractive books with interest and profit.

The Youth's Temperance Banner, is a handsome, illustrated monthly, published by the Society for children, and should be in every Sunday School and family.

The Catalogue of Tracts, published now, embraces sixty-five Tracts; the larger number of which are new, and are adapted to the present position of the cause; a general circulation of these cannot fail to be productive of the best results. The Temperance reform has assumed the position of uncompromising antagonism to the liquor traffic, and is so understood

by those engaged in it. The liquor men have immense capital at command, with ignorance, vice, appetite, love of gain, and of power as their allies. We can only present God's truth, reason, experience, and appeals to man's better nature, as our weapons of combat. With the diligent and proper use of these, we shall prevail. Who dare refuse to do his part? The publications of the National Society may be found on the shelves, or procured through Messrs. Fell & Duffee, Temperance Emporium, No. 711 Sanson street, Philadelphia; J. C. Garrigues & Co., No. 608 Arch street, Philadelphia; Methodist Tract Society, 1018 Arch street, Philadelphia, or any bookseller in the State.

TEMPERANCE NEWSPAPERS

As a cheering evidence of substantial progress we mention the increase of Temperance newspapers. It is to be deplored that too often zeal is found not to be supported by adequate experience, talent or capital—and hence, publishing of Temperance papers has wrought grievous injury to the cause, and disappointment to projectors, and their friends. We trust the time is not distant when talent and enterprise will find its reward in Temperance literature, as in kindred fields of moral labor. Failure is, however, no sufficient reason for abandonment; neither is inferiority as compared with journals established in other departments of literature a justification with any Temperance man for refusing support to such journals as we have. Parsimony will never create what we need, while liberality causes God's blessing. No Temperance man who will reflect upon the *savings* which Temperance has brought to him, but will find his expenditure for its promotion, are trifles in comparison. The small inferior Temperance sheet received in the family may contain the truth that shall be the turning point in the history of a son or a daughter. We do not hesitate to say that any Temperance paper within our knowledge is worth to the family, where it is made welcome, far more than its cost. As well may we expect our sons and daughters to be fortified against the seductions of the drink, without books and papers to enlighten and confirm, as to expect them to grow up wise or good without similar help. The Temperance paper and book should be as familiar and desirable to us and our children, as the Sunday school book or political journal. Let there be a hearty and general support of our Temperance newspapers, and soon such aid will make them the equals of all others. We gladly name the *Vindicator*, published weekly, at Williamsburg, Blair county, Pa.; the *Guardian*, weekly, at Philadelphia; the *Keystone Good Templar*, weekly at Lancaster; the *Templar's Magazine*, monthly, at Philadelphia; the *Voice of Truth*, monthly, at Lancaster; the *Good Idea*, monthly, at Reading, as laboring earnestly and efficiently for the formation of the cause.

The *National Temperance Advocate*, published at 172 William street, N. Y.; the *Nation*, weekly, at 21 Cornhill, Boston; the *Peninsular Herald*, at Detroit, Michigan, are large and ably conducted journals, and will compare favorably in appearance and contents with any other papers of the same class in the country.

CHURCH AND MINISTRY.

In another part of this report we have spoken of the hearty co-operation of churches and ministers in the Temperance reform, and having thus given general credit for the faithfulness of many, we feel in duty bound, to speak to the deficiencies of others. It is with great sorrow that we are compelled to complain that a portion of the ministry and membership of nearly all the churches, do *not* place a proper estimate on their *personal* relation to this cause.

While many pulpits freely discuss this subject, others are entirely silent and no word of warning is heard by the people from them. Christian bodies recognize Temperance as a part of the work. Yet not a few, in the aggregate, of both preachers and members, so far forget their duty to God and society, as to indulge in the use of some forms of intoxicating beverages. This is sad, very sad, and while claiming the influence of the church and ministry for the cause, as a whole, we must not be understood to excuse any exceptional examples. We have a *right* to expect that all members and all ministers of the body of Christ should not only preach, but practice, total abstinence. When they do not, they encourage the enemy—they support drinking customs, and worse than all, they dishearten the friends of the cause, and greatly embarrass their work. It is in vain that we reason with the “world’s people” against the impropriety and danger of drinking, while both members and ministers of the church set them the example. A reformed drunkard and church member once said, “the example of *my own pastor* ruined me.”

Another deficiency of the churches lies in their *not enforcing their discipline* against tippling. In most Christian societies, there is now a rule against drinking intoxicants, but how seldom is that law enforced. Members who are known to tittle, take the sacrament and indulge the habit, without either public or private reproof. While this fact remains it is worse than useless to call such a church “a temperance society,” and make a union with it an excuse for not joining any other temperance organization. No other temperance organization in the land allows as much drinking by its members, as is tolerated in most of churches of the present day. This is a grievous wrong to the church and also to the world, and should be corrected without delay.

The *reason* why so many ministers refuse to either preach or lecture on the subject of Temperance can be attributed to but one fact, viz: “*They take no pains to understand the subject.*” The lack of information in re-

gard to the principles and movements of this reform among ministers is truly deplorable. Compared with the whole, these cases are rare, but they are a sad reproach, and it will not be long before these "delinquents" will have cause to regret that they have neglected to include in their preaching and practice that "temperance" which Paul thundered in the ears of the licentious Felix.

A DOLLAR AND CENT CHAPTER.

For the special benefit of tipplers and tax-payers, we submit a calculation of the cost of liquor to them and the profit to a liquor-seller. Take a village of one thousand inhabitants, with one licensed liquor-seller. To make it a paying business he must sell at least three hundred gallons. Being as shrewd as his fellows he will purchase one hundred and fifty gallons of neutral spirits, at \$1 per gallon, and one hundred and fifty gallons of whiskey at \$2.50 per gallon; and mixing them together, the whole will cost him only \$525. He retails at ten cents per glass, and as there are at least sixty drinks in a gallon, he obtains \$1,800 for what cost him only \$525. This neutral spirits is *one-half* water, and *one-fourth* of the three hundred gallons is only water. Government, therefore, licenses him to sell seventy-five gallons of water for \$450, and to make a profit of \$1,275 on what cost him but \$525. It is no wonder that men are willing to sell for such a profit, but it is wonderful enough that so many are willing enough to pay for it.

LICENSE AND PROHIBITION CONTRASTED.

As there are so many who doubt the good results of prohibitory laws, we now propose to give some facts in detail, to prove the correctness of the general statements made in the earlier portions of this report. That we are able to do this is owing to the fact that both local and general statutes of prohibition have been tested sufficiently long to settle the question of results. The first example we shall give is from the report of T. T. Curtisby, of Vineland, N. J., who was formerly a resident of New England, and in both the cases given, speaks from personal knowledge. Of Vineland, he says :

"Though we have a population of 10,000, for the period of six months, no settler or citizen of Vineland has required relief at my hands as overseer of the poor. During the entire year there has been only one indictment, and that a trifling case of assault and battery among our colored population; so few are the fires in Vineland that we have no need of a fire department. There has been only one house burnt down in a year, and two slight fires, which were soon put out. We practically have no debt, and our taxes are *only one per cent.* on the valuation. The police expenses of Vineland amount to \$75 per year, and our poor expenses a mere trifle."

"In contrast with this I will give the state of things in the town from which I came in New England. The population was 9,500, a little less than that of Vineland. It maintained forty liquorshops. There were kept busy a police judge, city marshal, assistant marshal, four night watchmen, and six policemen. Fires were almost continual; that small place kept a paid fire department of four companies, of forty men each, at an expense of \$3,000 per annum. I belonged to this department for six years, and the fires averaged about one for every two weeks, and mostly incendiary. The support of the poor cost \$2,500 per annum. The debt of the township was \$120,000. The condition of things in this town is as favorable in that country as that of many other places where liquor is sold."

We now give another case taken from that famous English Quarterly, the *Meliora*, of April, 1867, as to the effects of prohibition in Ireland.

"The town of Bessbrook, Ireland, was founded and built up chiefly by John Grubb Richardson, who is sole proprietor, and as such, under the English law, *can prohibit* the introduction and sale of intoxicating drinks. The Bessbrook Mills employ 3,000 persons—all Irish. Liquor shops are not allowed within the limits of the town. One hotel is allowed, conducted on temperance principles. There is a Temperance Society, of which Mr. Richardson is President, and a large number of the workmen members. There is no police, poorhouse, or prison in the place, since there is no drunkenness; no quarrelling, though the people are all Irish; no theft; no crime; in short, the operations are models of sobriety and good order. By law, the constabulary are found in all the towns of Ireland, but they are not found in Bessbrook, because they are not needed."

The cases cited above might be multiplied to a great extent, but they are enough to satisfy any candid mind that even *local* and *limited* prohibition is of the utmost importance. If so, how much more beneficial must the results be when prohibition becomes general and universal? Local laws have great difficulties to contend with, and it is wonderful that they accomplish so much. Look, for a moment, at the many ways in which the influence of local prohibition may be, and is constantly counteracted.

Suppose that a town, that has by the energy of the people obtained such a law, be surrounded by other places, where license obtains; how easy is it for those who drink, to buy it at those places, and bring it into the limits of prohibition and give it to their friends. Then intemperance prevails, and its evils are set down as a proof of the inefficiency of prohibitory laws. So it is, also, with a prohibitory State. Neighboring States grant license and spread upon the ground of prohibition the curses of the traffic, and the enemies of the cause denounce the law instead of the license. For this reason, prohibition has never had a fair trial in this country, and yet, with all its difficulties, it has

produced the most wonderful results for good. As a further proof of this, we now present the

RESULTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

This State has been the great battle-ground of prohibition and license. We will state some facts not generally known to the friends of prohibition in other States, which will set the question in Massachusetts properly before them.

First, Boston is not only the capital of that State, but it is the very Gibraltar of the foes of prohibition. Boston has (in proportion to her population) more houses of ill-fame, more grog shops, makes more arrests, and has more station-house lodgers than New York, and probably more than any other city in the nation. In 1868 Boston reported 2052 liquor-shops, 123 houses of ill-fame, and more than 150 gaming establishments, against 115 churches, and 336 schools. She reported 732 regular teachers, against more than 10,000 persons in her resorts of vice and crime.

Second, Boston had a numerous and wealthy liquor organization, which raised funds in connection with similar societies through the State, to pay the costs and fines of offenders against the prohibitory law, and thus openly defied its execution.

Third, The local police, generally under the influence of this liquor association, *refused* to enforce the law, and the friends of law and order were compelled to create a State constabulary to protect society, and yet in the face of this opposition, and in spite of all the difficulties, the prohibitory law was executed with the most beneficial results.

The following facts are taken from the official reports of Major Jones, in 1867, and contain the result of only *two and a half years* of prohibition :

1. More than 16,500 prosecutions were made, including seizures of illegally kept liquors.
2. A trifle less than 100,000 gallons of liquors were seized, nearly two-thirds of which were deemed forfeited.
3. Three hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars in fines and costs were paid into the several county treasuries.
4. Not far from 3,000 liquor dealers abandoned the traffic.
5. *There was not an open bar in the entire State; all had either closed up or retired to such obscurity as to be discovered only by the well-known toper, upon an agreed signal, or found under the security of sham club organizations, or key arrangements.*

Such were some of the results of prohibition, in the face of all this organized opposition. But there came a time, through political influence and other causes, when the friends of license overthrew the prohibitory law, and restored the license system. As if by magic, the state of things was changed so fearfully for the worse, that before a year of license was passed, the *people* rallied to the polls, overthrew the political liquor party, and elected a Governor and Legislature pledged to restore

prohibition. Massachusetts grew sick of license under the teachings of experience, and having returned to prohibition, will not be likely to again transgress the laws of public morality in that direction.

As a contrast between the results of License and Prohibition in Massachusetts, we give the following extract from the report of the Chief Constable, in January, 1869, viz :

This (license) law has opened and legalized in the various cities and towns, about 2,500 open bars, and over 1,000 other places where liquors are *presumed not* to be sold by the glass. Of these 3,500 liquor establishments, Boston has about 2,000, or about 500 more than all the other cities and towns of the Commonwealth. Drunkenness is on the increase to a fearful extent, etc., etc.

In the fact of this official and undoubted testimony, who can say that prohibition is not a success even with all the difficulties attending its execution.

IRELAND AND THE IRISH.

The great number of Irish people that come to this country and become citizens, make any thing connected with the habits and history of that nation of vital moment to us, and on no subject is their relation to, and their influence upon the land, of more importance than that of Temperance. Statistics show that the larger part of vice and crime has been with the foreign population, and it has been among them simply because they are the more constant patrons of the dram shop. As the Irish constitute a very large proportion of our foreign population, the following testimony by the *Irish Republic*, a Roman Catholic journal of New York, is very significant. It says :

“The curse of intemperance has been the great cause of all our misfortunes as a people. To it can be traced the loss of our independence at home, and the cause of all our miseries abroad. It is the basis of all crime, and the man or men who make our people temperate will obliterate Irish crime. We assert, and defy contradiction, that a sober Irishman scarcely ever commits a crime. There may be exceptions, but they are of no consequence. It is whiskey, then, that brings shame into the Irish household, that whets the knife of the infuriated madman, that abuses the wife, and sends the children adrift on the world. It fills the prisons and poor-houses, and gives the enemies of our race a whip to lash us. It is the duty, then, of all men to take measures to destroy this monster, that has destroyed our people.

“We have received the annual report of the New York Board of Police, for the year ending October 31, 1868, and turning to the column of arrests, we find that during the year 78,451 persons were arrested, of this number 25,957 were Americans ; 8,281 were Germans ; 37,014 were Irish.

"It is useless to attempt to shut out these figures ; they have gone before the world, and we must acknowledge that they are disgraceful to us as a people. Every man of our race, no matter what may be his standing in society, the name of our country and every principle in which our nation takes pride, is pressed down to the level of the gutters by the strong arm of that demon which has dragged thirty-seven thousand of our people to the watch-houses of New York, and pilloried the degraded wretches before the public gaze.

"We are sure that out of thirty-seven thousand Irish arrested for the year, thirty-five thousand were for drunk and disorderly. It matters not, as far as public scandal is concerned, whether they were arrested for drunkenness or for heavier crimes. The public does not look behind the figures on the Police Board, and those figures convict us of supplying *one half of the entire crime of New York.*

"We do not know that Prohibition is the best cure for intemperance. We do know that whiskey is the great curse of the Irish race, as well as of all races, and that party who will succeed in making our people total abstinence men, will wipe out all the police records and reduce Irish crime to insignificant exceptions. Feeling thus, we are willing to accept any cure for the terrible evil. Nothing can be worse than drunkenness, and any thing that helps to lessen it must be a benefit to humanity."

So says an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, and the picture drawn from his plea, from a bleeding heart, is very sad but very instructive. How long will the American people shut their eyes to these facts, and give no heed to the terrible warning they contain.

HOW FAR WE HAVE TRAVELED.

In the beginning of the Temperance reform we had *three* ideas or principles to contend with and destroy before the reform could finally succeed. These ideas then considered as settled and fixed were :

It is *right* to *drink* intoxicating liquors.

It is *right* to *sell* them to be drunk.

It is *right* to *license* the sale for this purpose.

The first two opinions named above are now proved beyond all dispute to have been erroneous. There was a time when sermons were preached from the pulpit to prove the morality of liquor drinking. What minister would dare do it now? There was a time when good men sold liquor as beverage, but now no man can claim a Christian character who is engaged in this traffic, and no liquor dealer could be received into any church without seriously injuring the reputation of that church for piety and consistency. The public mind of this nation *has decided* that it is *a sin to drink and a crime to sell.* There remains but *one* question, therefore, to settle, viz: Is it right to license? and that is

being settled rapidly; the work is nearly done, and when fully done, our laws *must* conform to this state of public judgment. Let it be remembered then that to secure the triumph of this cause in Pennsylvania there is but *one question* remaining to be settled, and that is:

Is it wrong to license men to sell liquor as a beverage?

We have not only educated the popular mind up to the points already named, in regard to general, or, what may be properly called *fundamental* principles, but we have, in doing this, established a multitude of the most important facts in detail, which underlie these general principles. These facts are very ably set forth by Dr. Turner Stebbins, of Chester county, Penna., in the following words, viz:

"We have established some important facts, which give a solid basis for future operations. Alcohol has been proved to be the same demoralizer whether in vinous or distilled liquors, and useless both as a beverage *and as a medicine*. That it may have some effect in neutralizing the venom of the rattlesnake is barely possible, but by no means certain. That it *arrests digestion* is the testimony of *all* modern physiologists. That *it cannot be assimilated* is proved by those great experimenters, Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy, and the fact is accepted by the entire medical profession. That "wine is superfluous to man," is the emphatic declaration of Baron Leibig. That *it retards atomic changes and impedes secretion*, thereby causing dangerous accumulations of effete matter in the blood, is equally well established. That it hurrys the action of the heart and weakens muscular power, is now known even to prize fighters and boat racers. That its moderate use is incompatible with health or strength in any zone or climate of the world, is admitted by all who have investigated the subject. That the death rate of total abstainers is only eleven per annum in a thousand, while the death rate of moderate drinkers is from sixteen to twenty-three per annum in a thousand, is ascertained by the carefully collected facts of life insurance companies. That it causes sixty thousand deaths a year in our country, which is one for every ten minutes, day and night, is not doubted. That it involves an annual loss of two billion of dollars cannot be denied, and that the liquor scourge, great as it is, is on the increase, no one disputes.

If it caused only a frightful amount of disease and premature death, accompanied by an immense loss of property, our bill of indictment would be very much abreviated. Our most serious charge is that it poisons virtue—the most precious thing known to men or angels—and desecrates the human mind. That it kills the body is horrible beyond endurance, but that it deranges thought, blights natural affection, and ruins the immortal soul, is far worse. To demoralize a man is to do him and his family a greater wrong than to mar his health, or bring upon him sudden death, and it is this maiming of the mental faculties, this

mangling of the moral nature of our citizens, that produces such deep and irreparable injury to society, and which not only justifies, but demands, the interposition of government.

What more have we learned, which may be mentioned, without extending this communication to an unpardonable length? One of the most fatal errors that ever prevailed in any age, is the popular notion that the stage of alcoholic derangement, known and recognized as "drunkenness," is *the worst feature* of the dram drinking custom, and that the practice of treating and being treated with alcoholic fluids would be comparatively harmless if it never led to what is vulgarly called "excess." *So far is this from being true*, that if we open our eyes to what is going on around us and in the world at large, we cannot fail to see that the evils of a *moderate* degree, of intoxication, are of themselves *apart from their tendency to excess*, far worse than those growing out of downright sottishness. Bear in mind that the world is governed by moderate drinkers, and that the intellect that rules it *is not a sober or sane intellect*. It moulds public opinion and gives a bias to the thoughts and opinions of multitudes who drink no alcohol themselves. They are under its secret influence without being aware of the spirit that controls them. What has been said of circumstances is true, if applied to this evil agent.

Men are the sport of alcohol, *when*
Alcohol seems the sport of men.

Drunkards have no power over public sentiment except to excite disgust for themselves. They are not permitted to occupy posts of honor, trust, and responsibility. Moderate drinkers are; and we see the result in blunders, accidents, and calamities in all directions. Alcohol acting on the brains of moderate drinkers first led the world to believe in its utility as a beverage. If the first drop ever swallowed had caused beastly drunkenness, the second would never have been indulged in. Alcohol acting on the brain of moderate drinking physicians first led them to prescribe it as a medicine, and the profession is not yet free from the degrading servitude. It was the same thing, acting on the brains of bishops and priests, that led them to turn their church edifices into drunkeries for the sale of liquor on holy days and religious festivals, thus spreading the corrupting custom far and wide over Europe. Alcohol acting on the brain of modern drinking legislators dictates our laws; the same thing, in the brains of moderate drinking judges, expounds them, and pronounces prohibitory legislation unconstitutional. What but alcohol could so muddle the brains of men as to set them to enacting laws to *regulate* that which is itself an incorrigible disturber, and which *deranges all human affairs*? Alcohol and nothing else suggested the idea that none but "men of good moral character" should be licensed

to sell liquor, and that a law providing for its sale a privileged few, under the sanction of government, is better than free trade in rum. The slaveholder's rebellion was originated by moderate drinkers and finished up with the murder of President Lincoln by a moderate drinker. Who believes that such a revolt could have occurred in a nation of teetotalers?

Alcohol in the brains of moderate drinking politicians controls the Republican and Democratic parties and keeps a temperance plank out of their platforms. The liquor traffic is carried on by moderate drinkers and for the supply of moderate drinkers; drunkards are only an unwelcome excrescence that fortunately cannot be shaken off. The press, with few exceptions, is in the hands of moderate drinkers, and made subservient to the rum interest. The pulpit, in thousands of instances, is silenced by the same power, and a Temperance Text Book is kept out of schools by it. No class of instructors are afraid of drunkards, but very many of them quail before moderate drinkers. Alcohol in the brains of moderate drinkers has poisoned our literature, from the infectious spawn of Anacron, down to the fermenting lines which lately escaped from "My Vineyard," and where first caught in the Atlantic Monthly Magazine. Drunkards make themselves incapable of such youth-corrupting exploits.

We now see that "drunkenness," against which so much is said by drinking people, is neither more nor less than the punishment which God has provided for those who drink—that its pains and penalties are in proportion to self-abuse—and that it is a salutary infliction, which no one should escape, who uses the drunkard's beverage in any quantity. Instead of desiring tipplers to be moderate in their potations, it is the duty of teetotalers to pray that all may speedily become drunken and disabled, who are so ignorant or presumptuous as to use an alcoholic drink of any kind.

We now perceive that all the ideas entertained by the framers and sustainers of license laws, were false and pernicious. If, instead of prohibiting the sale of liquor to drunkards, and permitting its sale to the uninitiated, we had forbid its sale to all except drunkards, the latter would have been all dead or reclaimed long ago, and the now criminal process of manufacturing such characters would have ceased. The time has come for embodying in our laws more rational principles. If we cannot change the habits of old toppers, we can save our yet innocent children from becoming such and that is a pressing and imperative duty.

CONCLUSION.

The year of 1869 has been one of unusual activity to our cause, in our country and throughout the world. In all the States where Prohibition has heretofore obtained, we have not only held our ground, but

have made great advancement in convincing the people of the propriety and effieieney of such laws. In those States where license is still the rule, there are many local exceptions. Towns, Boroughs, and Townships are constantly being added, where "local prohibition" has been secured, or where "License" is abolished by the Courts under the pressing demands of the people. This state of things will continually be increased, and the time is not far distant, when in Pennsylvania, as well as in other States, entire prohibition will be demanded by and given to the people.

But the strongest evidence of suceess remains to be named, and it is one that even by temperance men is not generally appreciated. It is found in the fact that for the first time in the history of this cause

The Friends of Temperance throughout THE WHOLE NATION ARE UNITED.

In 1865, for the first time, the National Convention adopted a general plan for founding a Common Brotherhood of *all* the Temperance People throughout the entire country. That plan consists in placing the cause on its original platform, namely: *that of a Religious and Christian enterprise.*

1. In placing the Christian Church at the head as **THE LEADER.**

2. In *combining* all the Religious Denominations with all the Temperance Organizations in a Common Union.

3. In creating a national society, which shall be the "Head and Representative" of all the States, with State societies and its auxiliaries. These State societies to be the "Head and Representatives" of all the Churches and Temperance organizations in the State to which they belong.

4. Thus to combine and concentrate the whole power of Churches and Temperance societies in each State, and the whole power of *all* the States in the general work for the whole country.

This, then, is the plan by which the cause is hereafter to be carried on; and, if there be any truth in the motto, "In Union there is strength," then the Temperance people being united, the cause must be stronger than ever before. This is not only progress, but it is that kind of progress which must result in **SUCCESS.**

In England the advancement is so great that we in this country will have to work harder than ever, or there is a prospect that she will distance us in the race for protective legislation. Prohibition has received such attention and support in the English Parliament as was never given to it before. Nearly *four thousand* petitions in favor of it were presented, bearing about *eight hundred thousand* names. The vote upon it in 1864 was 40 in favor, and 297 against. In 1869 the vote was 94 in favor, and

106 against—prohibition gaining 54, and license losing 191. The hostile majority was reduced from 257, in 1864, to 12 in 1869.

Still more encouraging is the fact, that the Church of England, which has hitherto remained indifferent to the cause, has taken it up with great earnestness.

The Convocation of Canterbury, embracing 32 English counties, and North and South Wales, with a population of more than *fourteen millions*, appointed a committee to examine the subject and report. That committee consisted of no less personages than the Deans of Canterbury, Chichester, Litchfield, Westminster; Archdeacons of Coventry, Ely, Exeter, Leicester, Nottingham, Talop; Canons Negles, Carus, Gillett, Harvey, Oxenden, Wood, Dr. Fraser; Prebendaries Gibbs, Kemp; and John Sanford, Archdeacon of Coventry, for Chairman.

Their report is an elaborate, thorough document, of nearly 250 pages, comprising testimonies of the clergy, judges, governors, and chaplains of prisons, recorders, police, &c., together with statistics of vice and crime; and their conclusions are almost precisely those of the friends of temperance in this country. While they recommend various moral remedies for the evil, they "are convinced that without an improved and stringent system of legislation, and its strict enforcement, no effectual and permanent remedy for intemperance can be looked for." And the first legislative remedy they recommend is "the repeal of the Beer Act of 1830, *and the total suppression of beer houses throughout the country.*"

Their report, even now, more than a *thousand* parishes in the province of Canterbury, in which the sale of intoxicating drinks is *prohibited* under the laws by the will of the proprietors; "and where, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people, are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated."

Having thus presented the annual report for 1869, the Pennsylvania State Temperance Union enters upon the labors of another year with devout thankfulness to Him, "in whose hands are the hearts of all men," for the blessing He has been pleased to bestow on the labors of the past, and with a firm determination to prosecute this work of reform until God's blessing crowns it with that success which will insure legal protection from the evils of the liquor traffic.

The officers of the Union desire also to thank the multitude of friends who have so nobly coöperated with and given them their support. Effort was never more needed than now. The generous contributions of the past should be greatly increased the coming year. *More money must*

be raised, that we may send more men into the field, "already white to the harvest." In behalf of the Union,

JAMES BLACK, President.

L. S. KAUFFMAN, Financial Agt.

P. COOMBE, Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON, Resident Secretary.

[NOTE.—The Corresponding Secretary, of whom the principal labor of preparing this report has been required, desires to say that he has been greatly aided in this work by the very able report of Secretary Thayer, of the Massachusetts Alliance, to whom he is indebted for many of the suggestions and facts embraced in this document.]

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the efforts to secure the Guarantee Fund authorized at the last annual meeting be continued.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Luther S. Kauffman offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the influence of the ministry of the Church of Christ is greater than that of any other that can be brought to bear upon the minds of men, and as this ministry, we are thankful to say, are generally heartily favorable to the temperance movement, we do most earnestly request that the churches shall be urged to continue such labor, and so far as possible unite in preaching on the subject on some day that may be named by the officers of the Union, and to make collections at such times for the promotion of the cause.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Rev. E. H. Kirby, S. D. Lewis, Esq., and Rev. E. Spayd were appointed a committee to report officers for the ensuing year.

They presented the following :

President—James Black, of Lancaster.

Vice Presidents—Hon. John Cessna, of Bedford; Erastus H. Weiser, of York, Gen. Louis Wagner, of Philadelphia; Miss Maggie M'Kee, of Lewistown, Mifflin county; Thomas Steel, Esq., of Pittsburg; Col. Andrew Gregg, of Centre; Hon. John Scott, of Huntingdon; Reuben C. Bull, Esq., of Philadelphia; Mrs. Mary Seiders, of Reading.

Treasurer—William W. Axe, of Philadelphia.

Recording Secretaries—J. C. Garrigues, of Philadelphia; Dr. James P. Thompson, of Williamsburg, Blair county.

Financial Agent and Resident Secretary.—L. S. Kauffman, Minersville, Schuylkill county.

Corresponding Secretary—Rev. Pennell Coombe.

Board of Managers.—A. K. Bell, Joseph R. Bolton, Rev. E. W. Kirby, Rev. Geo. D. Chenoweth, William Davis, Benjamin F. Dennison, John Gabel, Rev. W. C. Hendickson, James Gillespie, J. M. Hamilton, J. B. G. Kinsloes, Luther S. Kauffman, of Schuylkill; L. Kauffman, of Cumberland; Sampson S. King, S. D. Lewis, Rev. J. S. McMurray, John C. Maguigan, Charles S. Massey, A. L. M'Clusky, H. N. M'Allister, Capt. E. H. Rauch, Dr. Sumner Stebbins, Hon. Eli Slifer, Captain Daniel Tracy, Rev. C. P. Wing, James W. Weir, Colonel Samuel Young, Jas. H. Rankin, Samuel B. Hutchinson, Rev. Thomas P. Hunt, Abraham Updegraff, Rev. A. H. Scmbower, Barr Spangler, Dr. Wm. Hargreaves, Rev. Henry E. Spayd, Dr. Gilbert Palen, William Hawk, Hon. Wilmer Worthington, George Smith, O. S. Halstead, Rev. John Moore, James M. Frantz, James C. Boyce, Hon. John Patton, William J. Mullen, Daniel Metzger, Prof. William S. Wyers.

On motion, the report was adopted.

On motion, the Union adjourned.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON, *Secretary*.

APPENDIX.

(Paper A.)

SERVICE AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY COUNTIES,
PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPERANCE UNION, Year 1869.

COUNTIES.	Contributions received by Wm. Nicholson.	Contributions received by P. Coombe.	Contributions received by L. S. Kaufman.	Total Contributions received by all Agents.	Names to Pledges, P. Coombe.	Sermons and Addresses, P. Coombe.	Addresses, Wm. Nicholson.	Total Sermons and Addresses.
Allegheny.....	3 00	215 30		218 30		37		37
Armstrong.....		40 70		40 70		2		2
Bedford.....	1 00			1 00		1		1
Berks.....	1 00	58 45		59 45		6		6
Blair.....	3 00	54 00		57 00	160	11		11
Bucks.....	21 93	21 25		43 18		4	5	9
Carbon.....	5 00			5 00			3	3
Centre.....	21 00	74 58		95 58		7		7
Chester.....	36 00	2 00		38 00			4	4
Clarion.....		23 00		23 00		2		2
Clearfield.....		124 07		124 07	175	7		7
Columbia.....	1 00			1 00				
Crawford.....		163 91		163 91	85	13		13
Cumberland.....		52 00		52 00		3		3
Dauphin.....	1 00	16 50		17 50			2	4
Delaware.....		9 00		9 00		1		1
Erie.....		136 46		136 46	75	26		26
Fayettee.....	11 00			11 00				
Forest.....		10 25		10 25	13	2		2
Franklin.....	27 00	24 20		51 20		5	1	6
Huntingdon.....	1 00	2 00		3 00		2		2
Indiana.....	1 00			1 00				
Lancaster.....	20 00	67 23		87 23		8		8
Lawrence.....	2 00	165 00		167 00	325	14		14
Lehigh.....	2 00			2 00			7	7
Luzerne.....	13 00	258 94		271 94	350	39		39
McKean.....	1 00			1 00				
Mercer.....		220 95		220 95	250	32		32
Mifflin.....		5 00		5 00		1		1
Montgomery.....	18 96	44 50		63 46	42	8	11	19
Northampton.....							2	2
Northumberland.....	1 00			1 00				
Perry.....	1 00			1 00				
Philadelphia.....	98 01	110 50	21 00	229 51	170	28	57	85
Schuylkill.....	82 00	41 50	197 48	220 98		6	1	7
Union.....	3 00			3 00				
Venango.....	5 00	259 48		264 48	67	19		19
Warren.....		45 50		45 50		8		8
Washington.....	6 00			6 00				
Westmoreland.....	5 00			5 00				
Wyoming.....	1 00	176 00		177 00		17		17
York.....		10 00		10 00		3		3
Total.....	392 90	2432 27	218 48	2943 65	1752	314	93	*407

* Add 15 addresses by James Black, Esq.,—Counties not given. Total, 422.

[*Paper B.*]

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO ALL AGENTS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPERANCE UNION, IN THE YEAR 1869—BY COUNTIES.

ALLEGHENY.—*To William Nicholson.* Horace Snowden, \$1.00; Rev. A. K. Bell, \$2.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Smithfield M. E. Church, \$3.00; Mozart Hall, Pittsburg, \$14.00; Liberty Street M. E. Church, \$6.00; Bap. Church, Allegheny City, \$10.00 cash; Temperanceville, \$7.30; Thomas P. Hershberger, \$5.00; Sewickley Boro', \$6.00 cash; West Elizabeth, \$6.00; Dr. J. R. Vankirk, \$1.00; John A. H. Carson, \$1.00; Rev. J. D. Herr, \$10.50; James Laughlin, \$15.00; Joseph McKnight, \$10.00; Robert Beers, \$10.00; Reform Executive Committee, \$25.00; Wesley Chapel, Pittsburg, \$13.25; Trinity, Pittsburg, \$12.25; Mrs. M. E. Robinson, \$1.00; William Faucett, \$100; C. C. Faucett, \$1.00; M. E. Church, Bradoek's Field, \$6.00; J. B. Cory, \$5.00; M. P. Church, Allegheny City, \$8.00; Temp. Reform Committee, Pittsburg, \$25.00; Philip Osborn, \$6.00; E. W. Shipman, \$5.00; C. Herriek, \$1.00; Rev. J. M. Condit, \$1.00.

ARMSTRONG COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* James Harrop, \$1.00; Mrs. M. Humphreys, \$1.00; Mrs. E. O. Excell, \$1.00; Miss E. Excell, \$1.00; Mrs. M. Wallace, \$5.00; George B. Cupples, \$1.00; Miss J. Linferter, \$1.00; H. M. Britten, \$1.00; T. P. Brown, \$1.00; J. M. White, \$1.00; J. M. Stevinson, \$1.00; Mrs. A. Park, \$1.00; H. Robb, \$1.00; T. Hart, \$1.00; T. Springer, \$1.00; W. W. Gephart, \$2.00; T. A. Stewart, \$1.00; E. G. Herring, \$1.00; P. Gates, \$2.00; Mrs. J. Bell, \$1.00; W. Hood, \$1.00; Mrs. Sarah Bell, \$100; Cash Kittanning, \$8.70; Miss Ella Henry, \$1.00; Miss S. B. Henry, \$1.00; F. Snullin, \$1.00.

BEDFORD COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* J. K. Durborne, Esq., \$1.00.

BERKS COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* John Rook, \$1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Mrs. S. J. Levengood, \$5.00; J. S. Levengood, \$1.00; Mrs. William Levengood, \$1.00; St. Mathew's Lutheran Church, \$4.00; T. D. Nagle, \$2.00; Emanuel Church, of Evangelical Association, \$7.00; W. J. Brandt, \$1.00; Israel Ringler, \$1.00; Collection in Library Hall, Reading, \$24.20; First M. E. Church, Reading, \$12.25.

James Berry, \$1.00; Cash, \$1.00; Cash at Martinsburg, \$3.00.

BUCKS COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Wm. Hawk, \$1.00; Rev. Mr. Swartz, \$5.10; Mr. Jenkins, \$1.00; Rev. G. D. W. Bodine, \$1.00; Cash at Morrisville, \$5.25; Carlisle Smith, \$1.00; Lakaska Lodge, \$4.50;

E. G. Harrison, \$1.00; Jesse G. Webster, \$1.00; Collection Hulnerville, \$1.08.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Cash, Attleboro, \$17.50; Collection at Bristol, \$3.75.

CARBON COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Samuel Hutchinson, \$2.00; Cash, Mauch Chunk, \$3.00

CENTRE COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* Collection at Philipsburg, \$13.58; C. A. Canan, \$5.00; Col. William Blair, \$5.00; H. N. McAllister, \$5.00; Isaac Haupt, \$5.00; Richard Conly, \$5.00; James Harris, \$5.00; J. D. Leib, \$5.00; George Livingston, \$5.00; General James Beaver, \$6.00; C. E. Humes, \$5.00; James Cline, \$1.00; Mr. John P. Harris, \$1.00; George Sharp, \$1.00; General James Armer, \$1.00; William B. Savage, \$1.00; James B. Rankin, \$1.00; Mrs. M. G. Repparts, \$1.00; Cash at Milesburg, \$4.00.

To William Nicholson. H. M. McAllister, \$20.00; James H. Rankin, \$1.00.

CHESTER COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* E. Ward, \$1.00; Enoch Passmore, Esq., \$5.00; F. Frazer Smith, Esq., \$5.00; Prof. William S. Myers, \$5.00; Charles Hambleton, \$1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Daniel Wisner, \$2.00.

CLARION COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* J. C. Wallace, \$5.00; W. P. Tonly, \$5.00; Mrs. M. E. Wallace, \$5.00; Mrs. L. Campbell, \$5.00; S. C. Wallace, \$1.00; S. T. Dicky, \$1.00; W. H. Stanley, \$1.00.

CLEARFIELD COUNTY.—*To Rev. P. Coombe.* Hon. John Patton, \$35.00; John Patton, Jr., \$5.00; Alex. E. Patton, \$5.00; Charles E. Patton, \$5.00; Francis Patton, \$5.00; Abraham Lincoln Patton, \$5.00; M. E. S. School, Curwensville Auxiliary, \$10.00; Sam'l Arnold, \$7.00; J. H. Fleming, \$1.00; W. A. Dale, \$1.00; Cash, \$6.00; Henry Fultzback, \$1.00; Mrs. Mary Boynton, \$5.00; Ex-Gov. Wm. Bigler, \$5.00; Geo. W. Rheem, \$2.00; Rev. G. A. Nixdorf, \$2.00; Hon. Joseph B. McEnnally, \$4.00; Cash at Clearfield, 20.07.

COLUMBIA COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Josiah A. Roberts, \$1.00.

CRAWFORD COUNTY.—*To Rev. P. Coombe.* Major Mills, \$1.50; James Kepler, 1.00; M. E. Church, Titusville, 17.34; Universalist Church, Titusville, 6.06; Presbyterian Church, 3.00; Rev. W. Howell Taylor, 5.00; J. H. Cogswell, 5.00; T. C. Joy, 3.00; N. M. Hall, 1.00; W. W. Hyatt, 1.00; J. O. Rockwell, 1.00; C. A. Mansfield, 1.00; A. B. Ross, 1.00; Cash, 3.00; Venango Boro', cash, 6.00; Rev. J. Dunmire, 1.00; M. Landon, 1.00; S. S. McDowell, 1.00; F. Moulthrop, 1.00; Miss N. Harmon, 1.00; Miss L. Barton, 1.00; D. Harmon, 1.00; M. M. Harmon, 1.00; Mrs. S. Carr, 1.00; Miss E. Carr, 1.00; D. Ginter, 1.00; Hon. W. T. Crozier, 2.00; Capt. M. L. Stone, 1.00; H. G. Green-

field, 1.00; Cash, Little's Comen, 8.00; Hon. H. Powell, 5.00; A. Hallenbach, 5.00; Rev. C. W. Foulk, 5.00; G. W. Kendall, 2.00; Mrs. A. F. Crane, 1.00; N. Peck, 1.00; J. Brown, 1.00; R. P. Miller, 1.00; Mr. Tyler, 1.00; B. O. Ivens, 2.00; N. Wilson, 1.00; H. M. Logan, 1.00; E. Hughes, 1.00; A. Brown, 1.00; Dr. H. Logee, 1.00; Collection at Linerville, 7.50; D. Sigler, 1.00; A. Miller, 1.00; W. E. Dennis, 1.00; A. L. Ford, 1.00; Rev. O. Babcock, 5.00; Rev. H. E. Johnson, 5.00; Cash, Shermansville, 5.50; Cash, Harmonsburg, 7.26; Rev. J. B. Waddle, 5.00; G. M. Eberman, 6.00; W. B. Powell, 1.00; Rev. J. W. Snyder, 1.00; Theron Beard, 1.00; J. M. Proctor, 1.00; P. Jolly, 1.00; G. M. Stevens, 1.00; Rev. W. Rice, 5.00; Cash, Centre Cross Roads, .75.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, for Rev. M. P. Wing, Life Patron, \$50, to July 1, 1869; Cash, Shippensburg, \$2.00.

DAUPHIN COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* George McFarlan, \$1.00. *To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* Cash Wiconisco, \$10.75; Cash, Lykenstown, \$5.75.

DELAWARE COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* Marple Presbyterian Church, \$9.00

ERIE COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* 1st M. E. Church, \$17.00; Members of Simpson M. E. Church, \$5.00; Mr. and Mrs. H. James, \$2.00; Capt. Thos. Wilkins, \$2.00; Mrs. E. J. Ames, \$1.00; E. D. Jones, \$1.00; Erie Presb. Church, \$16.40; Dr. Prepley's Church, \$10.50; Cash, Waterford, \$6.45; Prof. Cooper, 5.00; Rev. W. Grassie, 5.00; B. E. Cook, 1.00; J. H. Smith, 1.00; Job Taylor, 1.00; A. H. Lewis, 1.00; A. Sherwood, 1.00; Cash at Waterford, 11.16; Cash at Union, 4.65; Collection at Edinboro, 10.30; Edw. C. Rodgers, 1.00; L. D. Johnson, 1.00; Miss S. M. Rodgers, 1.00; Mrs. S. M. Sayre, 1.00; J. Hook, 1.00; S. E. Allen, 1.00; E. W. Beecher, 1.00; J. R. Taylor, 1.00; Frank Hill, 1.00; Sarah H. Smith, 1.00; J. W. Richards, 1.00; S. W. Moorehead, 1.00; E. W. Twitchell, Esq., 5.00; M. Reeder, 5.00; J. R. Hunter, 1.00; Collection, Millvillage, 2.00; R. Pettibone, 1.00; Mrs. E. Barton, 1.00; Cash at Fairview, 3.00; Rev. E. Albert, 1.00; Dr. C. N. Moore, 1.00; A. W. Gray, 1.00; W. B. Chamberlain, 1.00.

FAYETTE COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Rev. John Perry Hall 1.00; Social Temple of Honor, Brownsville, 10.00;

FOREST COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* Cash, Tionesta, 10.25.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.—John M. Gilmore, \$6.00; collection Chambersburg, \$10.00; A. H. McCullogh, \$5.00; John Linn, \$2.00; G. R. Messersmith, \$2.00; Wm. B. Gilmore, \$1.00; Rev. J. H. S. Clark, \$1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. W. W. Paxton, \$1.00; W. A. Hazlett, \$5.00;

Rev. F. Dyson, \$1.00; S. Y. Wolf, \$1.00; Benjamin Ugler, \$1.00; collection at Chambersburg, \$12.75; collection, Greencastle, \$2.45.

HUNTINGDON COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* J. S. Oaks, \$1.00.

To Rev. P. Coombe. Albert T. Garrett, \$1.00; cash, Petersburg, \$1.00.

INDIANA COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* A. L. McCluskey, \$1.00.

LAACASTER COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Agnes Kemp, \$2.00; Grand Lodge Good Templars, \$10.00; Rev. E. H. Spayd, \$1.00; Rachel S. Smith, \$1.00; Mary M. Black \$1.00; Gertrude H. Black, \$1.00; Wm. M. Black, \$1.00; J. A. Martin, \$1.00; Rachel G. Patterson, \$1.00; Samuel Hartman, \$1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. St. Paul's German Reformed Church, 10.00; Mrs. George Hurlock, 1.00; William Barton, 1.00; Rev. A. B. Shenkle, 1.00; Strasburg Presbyterian Church, 25.00; Cash, Marietta, 2.00; B. B. Martin, 10.00; First M. E. Church, Lancaster, 6.23; Cash donations from P. Coombe, 11.00.

LAWRENCE COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Joseph Kissick, 1.00; Rev. N. R. Johnson, 1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Joseph White, 5.00; T. McBride, 1.00; Mrs. L. A. Morris, 1.00; A. W. Philips, 1.00; S. T. Jackson, 1.00; S. Bowman, Jr., 1.00; G. W. Veach, 1.00; I. Elder, 1.00; Dr. N. White, 1.00; J. N. Erwen, 1.00; Cash, Newcastle, 11.00; M. E. Church, of Rev. W. W. Wythe, 25.00; Rev. N. R. Johnson, 1.00; A. M. Gardner, 5.00; Mrs. A. M. Junkin, 5.00; Dr. S. Poppins, 6.00; Mrs. M. E. Poppins, 6.00; Mrs. A. E. Clark, 5.00; Miss M. Lamb, 2.00; Mrs. Mary Lamb, 1.00; Rev. R. A. Brown, 2.00; Rev. E. H. Stevenson, 1.00; Mrs. Wilhelm, 1.00; Thomas Ashmead, Jr., 1.00; J. M. E. Anderson, 1.00; Presbyterian Church, Pulaski, 25.00; Classes Westminster College, 10.00; Presbyterian Church, Neshannock, 25.00; W. A. Clark, 1.00; Tlox, 1.00; W. Wallace, 1.00; Mrs. Professor Finley, 2.00; Rev. Victor Miller, 5.00; Rev. N. Morris, 5.00; T. Peters, 1.00; Cash, Fayetteville, 1.00.

LEHIGH COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Rev. Richard Walker, 1.00; Benjamin Lochman, 1.00.

LUZERNE COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Daniel Metzger \$1.00; Presb. Church, Providence, 12.00.

To Rev. P. Coombe. Cash, Jeancsville, \$20.00; Hazelton, \$64.00; Cunningham, \$6.00; Butler \$2.81; Stoekton, \$20.13; Scranton, \$49.50; Old Forge, \$8.75; Dalesville, \$3.80; Moscow, \$13.00; Hendricksburg, \$19.39; Wilksbarre, \$51.50.

McKEAN COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Mrs. L. T. Medbury, \$1.00.

MERCER COUNTY.—*To Rev. P. Coombe.* Miss Kate Phnica, \$1.00;

Miss R. E. Snyder, \$1.00; C. W. Wilder, \$1.00; Cash, Jamestown, \$6.00; M. E. Church, Greenville, \$6.45; A. Barnett, \$1.00; Miss F. E. Clover, \$1.00; Miss A. Moore, \$1.00; Mrs. S. A. Beck, \$1.00; M. Loomis, \$3.00; O. Steward, 1.00; Mr. Crosier, \$1.00; Rev. J. W. Brittain, \$1.00; Rev. J. O'Neil, \$1.00; Dr. E. Kreps, \$1.00; Rev. J. M. Perry, \$1.00; M. A. Vaughn, \$5.00; R. Tanison, \$5.00; W. M. Massman, \$5.00; W. C. Falcner, \$5.00; B. K. Ormond, \$5.00; Rev. D. Williams, \$5.00; cash, Shann, \$5.00; Rev. J. Perry, \$5.00; J. J. Spearman, \$5.00; Hon. J. Lightner, \$2.00; W. S. Rebert, \$1.00; P. Durham, \$1.00; Kate Montgomery, \$1.00; Rev. L. W. Day, \$5.00; cash at Mercer, \$9.00; J. W. McGacken, \$1.00; Rev. D. Wagener, \$1.00; Dr. Axtett, \$1.00; C. W. Moyer, \$1.00; W. G. Brown, \$1.00; H. Wick, \$1.00; A. D. Beaty, \$1.00; A. Williams, \$1.00; Mr. Ellis, \$1.00; H. M. Vaughn, \$1.00; T. A. Steel, \$1.00; R. Ross, \$1.00; H. E. Yard, \$1.00; Rev. R. Ward, \$1.00; Rev. A. H. Doomer, \$5.00; Rev. W. L. Wright, \$5.00; M. D. Moon, \$1.00; L. P. Stewart, \$1.00; C. Koonce, \$1.00; J. Eckels, \$1.00; R. McClellan, \$1.00; L. B. Woods, \$1.00; S. Truit, \$1.00; J. L. Moore, \$1.00; T. C. Koonce, \$1.00; J. C. Stewart, \$1.00; J. G. Stewart, \$2.00; W. W. Woods, \$1.00; W. J. Cochran, \$1.00; T. Stewart, \$1.00; G. Gainer, \$1.00; H. Koonce, \$1.00; A. T. Campfield, \$1.00; T. Dickson, \$1.00; W. B. Wilkins, \$1.00; Rev. W. S. Wright, \$1.00; Mrs. Davis, \$1.00; Cash, \$3.00; Major J. W. Ormsby, \$5.00; P. M. Wilson, \$5.00; S. N. Dinalun, \$5.00; Mrs. E. M. Kinner, \$5.00; Rev. W. T. Dickson, \$5.00; Mrs. W. T. Donalson, \$1.00; Cash at Millbrook, \$3.00; Rev. D. W. Wampler, \$1.00; D. Gildesleeve, \$1.00; T. Coleman, \$1.00; P. R. Wilson, \$1.00; G. W. Wilson, \$1.00; T. Newkirk, \$1.00; E. M. Latham, \$1.00; W. Simcox, \$5.00; W. W. Wert, \$1.00; D. C. Reed, \$1.00; L. Patterson, \$1.00; A. F. Brown, \$1.00; J. Clary, \$1.00; W. Gooze, \$1.00; M. M. Van Antwerp, \$1.00; cash, New Lebanon, \$6.50; Middlesex M. E. Church, \$25.00; Middlesex Presbyterian Church, \$25.00.

MIFFLIN COUNTY.—*To Rev. P. Coombe.* Cash, Lewistown, \$5.00.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Thomas T. Mather, \$1.00; Moses Auger, 1.00; Seth Lukens, 1.00; Lewis Warner, 1.00; G. Temp., Norristown, 2.00; G. Temp., Prospectville, 3.50; Cash, Hatboro, 3.75; Cash, line Lexington, 4.71; Rev. S. G. Hare, 1.00.

To Rev. P. Coombe. Rev. Ab. Hunsicker, 1.00; Frank M. Hobson, 1.00; A. H. Fetterolf, 1.00; Prof. J. P. Sherman, 1.00; H. R. Funk, 1.00; H. H. Grubb, 1.00; Rev. Henry A. Hunsicker, 2.00; H. B. Kratz, 1.00; C. Tryon, 1.00; Cash, 3.00; Cash, Evansburg, 1.50; William B. Shupe, 1.00; Inf. School Bap. Church, 5.00; Amos Ely, 5.00; Dr. E. C. Readig, 5.00; Rev. George Hand, 1.00; Rev. Mr. Wynn, 1.00; D. Roser, 1.00; C. C. McNair, 1.00; T. Eby, 1.00; M. Yerkes, 1.00; C. Wakefield, 1.00; Mrs. Wakefield, 1.00; John Shay, 1.00; Mrs. Yerkes, 1.00; Mrs. Moore, 1.00; D. Marple, 1.00; C. Rorer, 1.00; Mrs. Rorer, 1.00.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Rev. E. W. Kirby, \$1.00.

PERRY COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Sampson S. King, \$1.00.

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* Horace J. Smith, \$100; Edward S. McGluc, 1.00; Spencer Roberts, 2.00; Joseph Govett, 1.00; James P. Fennell, 1.00; C. S. Garrett & Bro., 1.50; B. F. Williams, 1.00; William J. Mullen, Esq., 15.00; James Gillespie, 1.00; Charles Schoch, 1.00; O. S. Fell, 1.00; Henry K. Smith, 10.00; Alex Sloan, 6.25; O. I. Search, 5.00; Rev. John Moore, 100; John H. Bromey, 1.00; Reuben C. Bull, 1.00; Alex. Cutler, Esq., 1.00; John Gable, 1.00; Charles Evans, 1.00; Cash, Manayunk, 6.26; Charles Boone, 1.00;

Wm. Boone, 1.00; Charles H. Sutton, 1.00; Wm. Jones, 1.00; Allen Wilson, 1.00; William R. Woodhead, 1.00; Henry Roley, 1.00; I. Newton Pierce, 1.00; J. C. Garrigues, 1.00; John F. Cline, 2.00; John P. Simons, 5.00; Charles W. Simons, 5.00; Henry C. Elliot, 1.00; Frederick Elliot, 1.00; Richard Lauer, 1.00; Wm. N. Dixon, 1.00; Samuel Powell, 1.00; A. R. Hall, 10.00; William Taylor, 1.00.

To Luther S. Kauffman. Ketcham Lodge G. T., 10.00; Gen. Louis Wagner, 5.00; Lady Washington Soc. Temple, 3.00; Geo. Washington Temple, 3.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Ebenezer M. E. Church, 19.00; Nazareth M. E. Church, 10.00; William Fisher, 1.00; Rev. W. C. Robinson, 1.00; Colocksink M. E. Church, 23.00; Richard McCambridge, 5.00; Olney M. E. Church, 11.50; Tabernacle M. E. Church, 23.00; Washington Yates, 1.00; Sarah C. Lavalette, 1.00; Tabernacle M. E. School, Auxiliary, 10.00; John Hart, 5.00.

SCHUYLKILL COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Isaac Beck, \$1.00; William L. Gray, 1.00; Rev. A. H. Lembower, 1.00; David Philips 1.00. Luther S. Kauffman, 60.00; Temp. of Honor, Ashland, 18.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. Cash at Tamaqua, 12.50; cash, Minersville, 4.00; Luther S. Kauffman, 10.00; Samuel Kauffman, 5.00; William James, 1.00; J. H. Thomas, 1.00; J. W. Langden, 2.00; H. C. Drelman, 1.00; Dr. Danenhower, 1.00; Thomas Scabring, 1.00; R. C. Kear, 3.00.

To Luther S. Kauffman. Mountain City T. of H., 5.00; Luther S. Kauffman, 92.48.

UNION COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Col. Eli Slifer, 2.00; Hon. Martin Driesbach, 1.00.

VENANGO COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* James C. Boyce, 5.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. W. G. Bell, 1.00; Mrs. Maria C. Aster, 1.00; Joseph G. Reed, 1.00; collection at Oil City, 27.77; collection at Franklin, 10.00; Petroleum Centre, 47.35; Pleasantville, 17.50; Mrs. Mary Marshall, 1.00; J. B. Calder, 5.00; H. A. Converse, 5.00; A. E. Higby, 5.00; J. J. Fisher, 5.00; W. Parker, 5.00; G. Milford, 1.00; J. Young, 1.00; J. M. Marshall, 5.00; M. E. Church, Oil City, 18.86; J. R. Gibson and wife, 2.00; W. A. Alanson, 1.00; Tarr Farm, 19.00; N. Caull, 1.00; Pleasantville M. E. Church, 7.00; Presbyterian Church, 7.00; Rouseville, for Rev. G. W. Staples, 25.00; cash, citizens, 40.00.

WARREN COUNTY.—*To Rev. P. Coombe.* Tidioute Presbyterian school \$25.00; cash Youngsville, \$7.00; Warren \$11.00; Columbus, \$2.50.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Joseph Henderson, \$5.00; Colin M. Reed, \$1.00.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY.—*To William Nicholson.* Rev. Adam Torrance, \$5.00.

WYOMING COUNTY.—*To Wm. Nicholson.* G. E. Palen, \$1.00.

To Rev. Pennell Coombe. O. L. Halsted, \$10.00; J. B. Childs and wife, \$5.00; collection \$5.00; Nathaniel Squires \$1.00; Tunkhannok M. E. Church, \$45.00; Presb. Church, \$35.00; Forkston, cash, \$1.50; W. H. Barns, \$10.00; J. C. Kintner, \$1.00; W. Sturdevant, \$2.00; W. B. Barns, \$1.00; W. F. Groff, \$1.00; B. J. White, \$1.00; T. C. Vose, 1.00; E. Butts, \$1.00; cash at Meshoppen, \$7.00; Laceyville, \$13.50; Runell Hill, \$6.00; Easton Bap. Church, \$25.

YORK COUNTY.—*To Rev. Pennell Coombe.* Chanceford Presb. Church, \$10.00.

TEMPERANCE PUBLICATIONS

FOR SALE BY THE

National Temperance Society

AND

Publication House.

—:O:—

Address orders for the same to I. N. STEARNS, Publishing Agent,
172 William street, N. Y., or to LUTHER S. KAUFFMAN,
Secretary of the Pennsylvania State Temperance
Union, Minersville, Schuylkill County, Pa.

—:O:—

The following bound volumes are of great value, and will be found to embrace every topic of the temperance movement. A good selection for Sabbath School Libraries can be made from them :

Mr. Delevan's Consideration of the Temperance Argument and History,	\$1 50	Arthur Merton ; or, Sinning and Sorrowing,	\$1 25
Temperance Pledge-Book, for Sunday Schools,	1 50	Methomonia (cloth covers,)	75
Temperance Recollections. By Dr. Marsh,	2 25	Methomonia (paper covers,)	40
Scripture Testimony against Intoxicating Wine,	60	Ten Nights in a Bar-room,	1 25
Bible Rule of Temperance; or, Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Drinks. By George Duffield, D. D.,	60	Life of John W. Hawkins,	1 50
When will the Day Come ?	1 00	Lights and Shadows of Real Life,	1 75
Alcohol : Its Nature and Effects. By Charles A. Story, M. D.,	90	Six Nights with the Washingtonians,	1 50
Alcohol : Its Place and Power. By James Miller ; and The Use and Abuse of Tobacco. By John Lizars,	1 00	Argument on the Right and Duty of Prohibition,	40
Bound Volume of Tracts,	1 00	Uncle Toby's Stories on Tobacco and Strong Drink,	25
The Medicine-Shelf, Donald Deane and his Cross, Weakness and Strength, Elsie Magoon ; or, the "Old Still House,"	1 50	The Children's Temperance Book. By Charles Jewett, M. D.,	10
Arthur Merton,	1 25	The Amethyst (paper covers,)	25
John Vine Hall,	75	The Amethyst (cloth covers,)	40
The Kemptons,	1 25	Rachel Noble's Experience,	90
Haste to the Rescue,	90	The Temperance Doctor,	1 25
Kill the Fiend,	40	Our Parish,	75
Sargent's Temperance Tales (6 volumes,)	4 20	The Old Brown Pitcher,	1 00
Sting of the Adder,	50	The Red Bridge,	90
		The Hard Master,	85
		Echo-Bank,	85
		Little Brown Jug,	45
		Sammy Seymour,	50
		Sarah's Home,	50
		Prince Alcohol,	55
		Whispers for Boys,	40
		New York Needle-Women,	1 35
		The Red Lion,	80
		The Broken Fuchsia,	50
		Wallamanumps,	70
		Lawrence Munroe,	1 25

The Brewer's Family,	1	25	Day of Adventure,	60
Vow at the Bars,	40		Patty Grant,	60
Beecher's Sermons,	25		Lobster Boy,	50
Andrew Douglass,	75		The Violet,	50
Ardent Spirits,	30		The First Glass of Wine,	50
Putnam and the Wolf,	30		The Temperance Boy,	40
Temperance Manual,	20		The Broken Pitcher,	1 25
Marcia and Ellen, the Drunkard's			Nie at the Tavern,	50
Children,	40		Donald Fraser,	1 00
The Little Captain,	45		Fagot of Stories,	75
Reef Village,	50		Susy's Sacrifice,	1 25
The Bessie Series (5 vols.; 85			Bible Jewels,	1 25
cents per volume,)	4	25	The Shannons,	1 25
Annals of the Rescued,	1	25	The Shoe-Binders,	1 25
Win and Wear,	1	25	Weakness and Strength,	90
The Cedar Christian,	90		Confessions of a Decanter,	60
Giles Oldham,	90		Volumes of Advocate and Ban-	
Water Drops,	90		ner, bound together, cloth—	
Amy Martin,	1	18	1866 and 1867—each,	2 00
Three Cripples,	75		Bound volumes of Banner, paper	
The Giants, and How to Fight			cover—1866 and 1867—each,	50
Them,	75		Henry Wilson,	40
Native Village,	50		The Temperance Speaker,	75
Hope for the Fallen,	50		Rev. Dr. Willoughby and his	
The Harvey Boys,	50		Wine,	1 50
Frank Irving,	60		Aunt Dinah's Pledge,	1 25
The Old Distillery,	1	50	Out of the Fire,	1 25
My Sister Margaret,	1	25	History of a Threepenny Bit,	75
Brandy Drops,	35		Philip Eckert's Struggles and	
Hemlock Ridge,	60		Triumph,	60
Ernest Brownley,	75		Gertie's Sacrifice,	50
Taking a Stand,	45		The Broken Rock,	50
Dick Cutler,	40		Four Pillars of Temperance,	75
Day of Small Things,	40		Zoological Temperance Conven-	
Cares and Comforts,	50		tion,	75
Temperance Anecdotes,	\$1	00	Jug-or-not,	\$1 50
Drinking Fountain,	1	00	Frank Oldfield,	1 50
Tom Blimes' Temperance Socie-			Dr. Lees Temperance Bible Com-	
ty,	1	25	mentary,	2 50
Communion Shrine, or Bible			Lunarius,	50
Temperance. Paper,	20		Come Home, Mother,	50
Communion Shrine, or Bible			The Harker Family,	1 25
Temperance. Cloth,	50		Job Tufton's Rest,	1 25

NEW TEMPERANCE DIALOGUES.

1. The First Glass; or, the Power of Woman's Influence,
2. The Young Teetotaler; or, Saved at Last. 15 cents for both; \$1.50 per dozen.
3. Reclaimed; or, the Danger of Moderate Drinking. 10 cts.; \$1 per doz.
4. Marry No Man if He Drinks; or, Laura's Plan, and How it Succeeded. 10 cents; \$1 per dozen.

ENGLISH WORKS.

Temp. Cyclopedia (bound,)	\$2	50	Dr. Nott's Ten Lectures on Bible	
By the Trent,	2	00	Temperance. Student's ed.,	\$2 25
Doctors, Drugs, and Drink. By			Nephalism, the Temp. of Scrip-	
Dr. Lees. Limp cloth.	75		ture, Science and experience,	30
Doctors, Drugs, and Drink. By			Condensed Argument for Prohi-	

Dr. Lees. Paper,	50	bition. By Dr. Lees,	30
Dr. Nott's Ten Lectures on Bible		Scot. League Pict. Tract, 1 to 25,	25
Temperance. Paper,	50	The Physiological Action of Alco-	
Dr. Mott's Ten Lectures on Bible		hol. By Prof. Munroe,	6
Temperance. Limp,	75	Tracts for the Young, 72 in pack.,	25
Nora, Lost and Redeemed,	90	The Drunkard's Progress,	40
Gertrude Winn,	90	Address of the Dean of Carlisle,	15
John Hobbs,	60	Temperance Bible Commentary, 3	00
Club Night,	60	Clerical Test'ny in favor of Total	
Seed Time and Harvest,	15	Abstinence. A series of papers	
Wanderers Reclaimed,	15	reprinted from the Ch. of Eng.	
Love's Labor Not Lost,	60	Temp. Magazine (Episcopal,)	75

BLACK VALLEY RAILROAD.

A Pictorial Temperance Allegory, graphically exhibiting to the eye the evils of intemperance, by showing the several stages of the drunkard's career to destruction; being a cheap, permanent, and powerful Temperance lecturer for use in Sabbath and common schools, families, halls, etc.

No. 1. Large Colored Litho-		No. 5. Pictorial Handbill, 12 by	
graphs, 2 by 4 feet, for Sabbath		18 inches, per hundred,	\$3 00
School Concerts, Temperance		No. 6. Four-page tract. Illustrat-	
Halls, etc.,	5 00	ed Guide, per hundred,	1 00
No. 2 is a beautiful Chromo, 20		No. 7. Two-page tract, with small	
by 24 inches,	1 00	cut, per hundred,	25
No. 3, printed in fine oil colors,		Card Photographs, 15 cents; col-	
12 by 14 inches,	25	ored, 25 cents.	
No. 4, 12 by 14, in water colors,	15		

BAND OF HOPE SUPPLIES.

Band of Hope Manual, per doz.,	\$0 60	Illuminated Temperance Cards,	\$0 40
Temperance Catechism, per doz.,	60	Pocket Pledge Book,	10
Band of Hope Melodies, paper,	10	Band of Hope Badge;—Enamelled—	
Thompson's Band of Hope Mel's,	8	1.25 per doz.; 12 cents singly. Plain	
Juvenile Temperance Speaker,	25	—\$1.00 per doz.; 10 cents singly. Sil-	
Band of Hope Speaker,	60	ver and Enamelled—50 cents each.	

The following are in paper covers:—

Buy your own Cherries,	\$0 03	Judge Pitman's Argument on the	
Buy your own Cherries, (illus-		License Bill,	\$0 15
trated,) 20		Scriptural Claims of Total Ab-	
Temperance Manual	8	stinence,	15
Beecher's Six Sermons,	8	Proceedings of Fifth National	
Dr. Jewett's Pamphlet,	30	Temperance Convention,	25
The True Temperance Platform,	60	National Temperance Almanac	
Alcoholic Medication,	30	for 1870,	10
Proceedings of the Nat'l Temp.		Temperance Chimes. Price in paper	
Convention at Saratoga, in '66,	25	covers, 30 cents, single copies; \$25	
Proceedings of the Nat'l Temp.		per hundred. Price in board covers,	
Convention at Cleveland, in '68,	25	35 cents, single copies; \$30 per hun-	
Is Alcohol a Food? By Dr. Lees,	5	dred.	
Bible Teetotalism,	5	Temperance Hymn-Book. Price, in	
Adulteration of Liquors. By Rev.		paper cover, 12 cents, single copies;	
J. B. Dunn,	5	\$10 per hundred. Board covers,	
Fruits of the Liquor Traffic,	5	15 cents, single copies; \$13 per hun-	
Argument on the Right and Duty		dred.	
of Prohibition. By Rev. Dr.			
Miner,	40		

LIST OF TRACTS.

[These will be furnished, 10 pages for a cent, or 1,000 for \$1.]

Who Slew all these ?	New Cider a Dangerous Beverage.
The Fool's Pence.	Objections to the License Law.
Alarm to Distillers.	Indictment of the Rum Traffic.
Wonderful Escape.	Why Legislate on Temperance ?
Wanderer Restored.	Blood-Guiltiness of Rum-Selling
James Newhall.	Temperate Drinking.
Jamie, or a Voice from Ireland.	Drinking Usages.
Lost Mechanic Restored.	The Wife's Devotion.
Destroy Him not.	Politics and Temperance.
I've no Thought of Dying So.	Farmers and Temperance.
The Drunkard's Story.	Adulteration of Brandy, Gin, Wine,
Well Conducted Farm.	Beer, etc.
Putnam and the Wolf.	Intoxicating Liquors as a Beverage
Address on the Effects of Ardent Spir-	Never Beneficial.
its. By Kittredge.	The difference between Regulating
Rewards of Drunkenness.	and Prohibiting the Sale of Intoxica-
Year of Victory.	ting Drinks.
Ox Sermon.	The Political Economy of the Maine
Poor man's House repaired.	Law.
Debates of Conscience.	Objections to a Prohibitory Law Con-
Reformation of Drunkards.	sidered.
Four Reasons against the use of Al-	Moral Suasion and Legal Coercion
coholic Liquors.	Relatively Considered.
Address to young Men of the United	Legal Coercion.
States on Temperance.	Is Dealing in Intoxicating Liquors as
Traffic in Ardent Spirits. By A.	a Beverage Immoral ?
Barnes.	Alcohol as a Medicine.
Appeal to Youth, by Dickinson.	Poisons in Alcoholic Spirits.
Argument against Manufacture of	The Rum Mill.
Ardent Spirits.	The Old Red Tavern.
Effects of Intemperance. By Dr.	Lager Bier.
Sewall.	Dream of the Rumseller's Wife.
Bunyan's Glad Tidings for Sinners.	The Lobster Bite.
Bible Argument for Temperance.	A Shot at the Decanter.
Traffic in Ardent Spirits. By Edwards.	Our National Curse.
Wm. Howitt's Four Doctors.	Cholera Conductors.
The Great Destroyer.	Mr. Nobody's Advice.
The Polished Arrow.	Personal Humor.
The best Drink.	Peter's Training, and What Came of It.
Tales of the Pocket.	To You.
May I Drink Moderately ?	May I Drink at all ?
The Rescued Brand.	Bank for Losings.
Who is safe ?	The Working Temperance Church.
Little Lizzie.	The Philosophy of Drinking and
A Word in Season.	Drunkenness.
I don't Care for It.	Bible Wines.
The Wife's Secret.	Temperance and Revivals.
Timothy a Teetotaler.	Maine Law Vindicated.
The Deacon and the Dog.	Statistics of Intemperance.
Words and Deeds.	Review of ex-Gov. Andrew on License.
Who Killed the man ?	Drunkenness and Christian Love. By
The two Pictures.	Rev. Newman Hall.
Why I did not Become a Brewer.	Buy your own Goose.
Domestic Wine a Foe to Temperance.	Wine-Drinking in France.
Prohibition.	Temperance and Money.

Total Abstinence not a Failure.	The Ballot for Temperance.
Somebody's Son.	The Philosophy of Drinking and Drunkenness.
Indictment of the Rum Traffic.	Timothy Titcomb's Testimony against Wine.
Is Alcohol Medicine?	Bible Questions on Temperance.
Words from the Workshop.	The Gled's Grip.
The Nature of Inebriation.	What will You Have?
Bible Opposed to Wine Drinking.	Our Young Minister.
Cider in the Pledge.	Hereditary Intemperance.
Drunkenness and Moderate Drinking.	Gin Toddy,
The Fatal Draught.	Blasted Trees.
Ready to Perish.	Kindly Counsels.
Temperance in Sunday Schools.	Why Sign the Pledge?
Our Stumbling Brother.	Natural and Reserved Rights.
Wine Drinking: the Beginning and the Ending.	
Facts from the Poor-House and the Prison.	

TWELVE-PAGE TRACTS. (\$12 per thousand.)

Native Wines.

TWENTY-FOUR PAGE TRACTS.

[60 cents per dozen, thick paper, with cover. Thin paper, without cover, \$24 per thousand.]

Adulteration of Liquors.	Medicinal Drinking.
Is Alcohol Food?	Fruits of the Liquor Traffic, and Results of Prohibition.
Bible Teetotalism.	Physiological Action of Alcohol.
Will the Coming Man Drink Wine?	
History and Mystery of a Glass of Ale.	

CHILDREN'S ILLUSTRATED TRACTS. (\$3 per thousand.)

A new series of Children's four-page Temperance tracts has just been issued, illustrated with fine wood engravings, and filled with interesting and instructive matter, eminently adapted to educate the children in the principles of Total Abstinence.

Father is Coming.	Look out for the Trap.
Avoid the Net, Boys.	The Danger-Call.
Rosy's New-Year's Day.	"I'll Try."
Lessons from Flowers.	Crystal's Prayer.
Jem and Velvet.	The End Thereof.
The Deceitful Beverage.	Eddie Harrold.
Love and Duty.	Light-Houses better than Life-Boats.
What Good can It Do.	Signing the Pledge.
A Snow-Storm.	The Drunkard's Children.

PLEDGES.

National Temperance Pledges,	Children's Certificate of Mem-	
plain, per hundred,	bership, per hundred,	\$3 00
Family Temperance Pledge, per	Children's Certificate of Mem-	
hundred,	bership, large size, per hundred	4 00
Illustrated Temperance Pledge,		30

Send for full descriptive catalogue to,

I. N. STEARNS, Publishing Agent,
172 William Street, N. Y.

